

**New Perspectives on Instrumentalism: Stratagems, Subversion
and the Case of Cultural Diplomacy**

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For my Dad, Bob (1949 – 2008)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the emergence of 'cultural diplomacy' within UK cultural policy to explore the policy-making process.

The literature review in Chapter Two observes that instrumental cultural policies are largely discussed in philosophical and binary terms, rather than being investigated empirically or a more nuanced approach taken. Questions are raised as to the empirical grounding of cultural policy studies and a disconnection between theory and practice is identified, which proves to be a recurrent theme.

The focus then shifts to an exploration of the methodological framework in Chapter Three. Based on a narrative account, the empirical process is defined, described and justified, outlining the sampling strategy, data collection methods and data analysis process. Within this, an empirical vacuum within cultural policy studies is revealed.

Chapter Four argues that the written policy and strategy documents are rationales for the protection, survival and growth of the government department, agency and museum that they represent, as opposed to the operational action plans that they first appear or are assumed to be.

Chapter Five presents the interview data to uncover the concealed mechanics of policy-making. Rather than being formalised as a written document, a new instrumental policy is created on the basis of informal verbal exchanges and social interactions between a cultural elite. This policy expands the scale and scope of existing cultural work, proving that instrumental policies can be beneficial, open, non-prescriptive and flexible, in stark contrast to the literature on the subject. The empirical data from document analysis and interviews reveal an unexpected scenario whereby the conventional power structure is subverted and the arts covertly resist top-down management.

Chapter Six reflects on the case of cultural diplomacy in relation to the making of policy more generally. Drawing on a number of examples from political science, this chapter demonstrates that the findings from the empirical data are not distinct or unique, but are common features within social policy.

The research concludes by calling for a better understanding of instrumental cultural policies. Recommendations are made to strengthen the empirical base of the field, re-examine key assumptions and look beyond cultural studies to ensure quality, accuracy and credibility within research.

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Glossary

This glossary comprises a list of prominent individuals, organisations and Government departments referred to in the thesis.

Alexander, Douglas	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for International Development, 2007 – 2010.
Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)	A Non-Departmental Public Body which is funded by the Department for Business Innovation and Skills, and works to advance research in the arts and humanities.
Arts Council of England (ACE)	A national development agency that operates at arm's length from Government and allocates funding (through the DCMS) to the cultural sector.
Blair, Tony	Labour politician, current Middle East Envoy and former Prime Minister, 1997 – 2007.
British Council	An international cultural relations body which aims to create relationships that provide cultural, diplomatic and economic benefit for the UK.
British Library	The national research library of the UK. Originally part of the British Museum, the library is located in London.
British Museum	A museum based in London which houses a comprehensive collection of human history and culture from all over the world.
Brown, Gordon	Labour politician and former Prime Minister, 2007 – 2010.
Burnham, Andy	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2008 – 2009.
Demos	Independent think tank and research institute, formerly associated with New Labour.
Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)	The department of the UK Government with the responsibility for culture, media and sport. It receives money from the Treasury, which is allocated to the cultural sector, often via ACE.
Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA)	The department of the UK Government with the responsibility for the environment, rural development, the countryside, wildlife, animal welfare and sustainable development.

Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC)	A Non-Departmental Public Body which funds research and training in social and economic issues.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)	The department of the UK Government with the responsibility for promoting British interests overseas and supporting UK citizens and businesses around the world.
Frayling, Christopher	Academic and former Chairman of Arts Council England, 2004 – 2009.
HM Treasury	The department of the UK Government with the responsibility for the finances and economy of the country.
House of Commons	Forum for elected Members of Parliament to represent their interests, consider laws and policies, and ask ministers questions about current issues.
House of Lords	Forum for Members of the Lords to discuss and scrutinise the legislation proposed by the House of Commons, with a view to making laws and checking Government activity.
Hunt, Jeremy	Conservative politician and current Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport since 2010.
Johnson, Boris	Conservative politician and current Mayor of London since 2008.
Jowell, Tessa	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2001 – 2007.
Keynes, John Maynard	Economist and founding Chairman of Arts Council of Great Britain in 1946, which later became ACE.
MacGregor, Neil	Current Director of the British Museum since 2002.
MacKenzie, Ruth	Senior arts practitioner, current Director of the Cultural Olympiad and previous Expert Adviser to the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport.
Mandelson, Peter	Labour politician who has held a number of posts in the Cabinet. Most recently, he was Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills, 2009 – 2010.
Major, John	Conservative politician and former Prime Minister, 1990 – 1997.
McMaster, Brian	Senior arts practitioner and current Chairman of the National Opera Studio.

Miliband, David	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 2007 – 2010.
Morris, Estelle	Labour politician and former Minister for the Arts, 2003 – 2005.
New Labour	The new brand identity for the Labour Party, which began in 1994 under Tony Blair's leadership.
Purnell, James	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 2007 – 2008.
Robinson, Gerry	Businessman and former Chairman of Arts Council England, 1998 – 2004.
Serota, Nicholas	Current Director of the Tate since 1988.
Smith, Chris	Labour politician and former Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, 1997 – 2001.
Tate	A network of four museums which house a comprehensive collection of modern and contemporary art from all over the world.
Thatcher, Margaret	Conservative politician and former Prime Minister, 1979 – 1990.
Vaizey, Ed	Conservative politician and current Minister for Culture, Communications and Creative Industries since 2010, an Under-Secretary of State post.
Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A)	A museum based in London which houses a comprehensive collection of decorative arts and design from all over the world.
Visiting Arts	A development agency which aims to promote intercultural understanding by facilitating international artistic practice and exchange.
World Collections Programme (WCP)	An arts programme, funded by the DCMS, which enables six leading cultural organisations to work collaboratively in areas of the world deemed political priorities. The organisations include the British Museum, British Library, Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, Tate, V&A and the Natural History Museum.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Origins of the Research

This research investigates the emergence of 'cultural diplomacy' within UK cultural policy to explore the policy-making process. I first came across the term cultural diplomacy in 2006 when I was working on my MA dissertation, which examined the impact of war on Iraq's cultural heritage. I analysed the circumstances that led to the extensive damage and destruction of buildings, monuments, archaeological sites and artefacts. Through this research, I learnt about the reckless looting of museums and the ransacking of the land to fuel the illicit trade in cultural property, the world's third largest black market after narcotics and firearms (Brodie *et al*, 2000). I became aware of the fervent debates surrounding restitution and repatriation, focusing on ethical intuition and moral outrage. I gained knowledge about the utilisation of cultural sites by the military and the deliberate targeting of cultural heritage as a tactic of war. My interest was stimulated by 'cultural genocide', the destruction and confiscation of cultural property, and the macabre intrigue of 'thanatourism', the sites of death, disaster and atrocity which are transformed into cultural attractions. I obtained an understanding of the legal instruments that were supposedly in place to protect cultural property, but which were rendered redundant in the midst of warfare, and the impotence of international cultural policy. Through this research, I became increasingly interested in the role of the arts in politics and within this broader landscape of international relations.

My interest in this area developed further through presenting my research at a national conference and subsequently getting my paper published in an academic journal (Nisbett, 2007). It was due to this experience, alongside my growing interest, that I decided to explore this area further by undertaking a PhD. This led to a funding application to the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), which was based on an investigation into the relationship between cultural policy and terrorism. This application was rather open and vague. I initially planned to extend my previous study somehow, but focus on contemporary art, utilising the contacts I had made in my

career as an arts administrator. I was fortunate to receive a bursary from the AHRC, allowing me to undertake this research.

Focus of the Research

In the first six months of the study, I began to scope out the project. I soon noticed that the international cultural activity of museums and galleries was being referred to as 'cultural diplomacy', with the arts presented as a political tool. This particularly interested me as the gallery that I had worked for prior to this study regularly undertook international work but it was never couched in the rhetoric of political diplomacy. I came across a research report on this subject by the think-tank Demos (Bound *et al*, 2007), which strongly argued that the arts play a crucial role within international relations. At the same time, I was struck by the proliferation of policy documents relating to 'internationalism', a priority area for both the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), the department of the UK government with the responsibility for culture, and Arts Council England (ACE), a national arts development agency that allocates Government funding to the cultural sector. At the start of this study, the DCMS was also formulating an *International Cultural Policy* (Reason, 2008. pers. comm), which was terminated during the course of this research (Marples, 2010. pers. comm). I also noted that similar documents were being produced by a number of cultural organisations, such as the V&A and that these were matched by a wealth of vacancies for professional positions relating to internationalism.

These documents showed a loose connection with British foreign policy, in terms of the information contained and the rhetoric used within them. This suggested to me that this upsurge in 'internationalism' or 'cultural diplomacy' was instrumental in its objectives.

Instrumental cultural policy is defined as the tendency:

to use cultural ventures and investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other areas ... The instrumental aspect lies in emphasizing culture and cultural venture as a means, not an end in itself (Vestheim, 1994:65)

Despite cultural diplomacy being a politically explicit term, it had not received the same level of attention nor condemnation as previous instrumental policies within the cultural policy arena. In fact, it had barely attracted any interest at all, except for a small number of articles in the professional press. A substantial amount of material had been generated previously in response to instrumental policies, which focused on the negative consequences brought about by their imposition onto the cultural sector. This lack of engagement by researchers and writers in this area prompted me to think that cultural diplomacy may be an instrumental policy with a difference. This hypothesis was the starting point for the research. I wondered whether cultural diplomacy represented a new kind of instrumental policy, which enabled organisations and artists to continue and possibly enhance their international practice, without being affected by the detrimental outcomes asserted by the anti-instrumentalist literature.

As the research process progressed, it developed into a study which focused on the complexities of cultural policy – how it is made, what role it has, how important it is, what purpose it serves, who is involved and what impact it has. Whilst cultural diplomacy remains a constant feature throughout, its status within the study changes from being the focus of the research at the beginning, through to it becoming a vehicle for exploring cultural policy more generally by the end. Eventually, my findings appeared to be so different from those of the literature in the field, that I decided to check if similar results occurred beyond the cultural policy field - and they did – within the discipline of political science.

Methodology

In order to investigate this hypothesis, a methodological framework was devised involving the collection and analysis of two data sets. I began with a number of fairly crude questions about how instrumental policies were viewed by those within the cultural sector, how prescriptive and directive they were, and whether cultural diplomacy was a new form of instrumental policy.

The first data set comprised three documents relating to internationalism. The second data set came from fifteen interviews with policy-makers, arts professionals and artists. Both data sets were subjected to thematic analysis, a systematic technique extracted

from the tenets of grounded theory and located within social science methodology. The choice of method is significant as I have used a tool that is traditionally associated with another discipline in a field that is conventionally rooted within the theory of cultural studies.

The documents that were analysed were the DCMS's *International Strategy*, ACE's *International Policy* and the British Museum's *International Strategy*. The aim of this was to provide a complete picture of internationalism from the viewpoint of the 'policy-maker', 'implementer' and 'recipient'. These three organisations are entirely dissimilar – with different origins, purposes and remits. Despite their diverse nature, I was able to draw some comparisons across the data set in terms of the findings.

The document analysis was followed by semi-structured interviews, taking place over a six month period. The interview sample was based on the idea of distinct roles within the policy-making process - that of policy-maker, those who implement these policies and the recipients of the funding, those who undertake the work underpinned by the policy framework. Although this segregation turned out to be inappropriate, as this thesis will demonstrate, it was crucial in uncovering a major finding. The interviewees ranged from independent artists to a range of professionals from a variety of organisations including Tate, British Museum, V&A, ACE, Demos, British Council and the DCMS.

Clarification of Key Terms

A number of key terms are used within the study, several of which have been mentioned thus far. The thesis extensively refers to the 'cultural sector', which, in this research, represents artists and arts organisations, exclusively museums and galleries, as well as the people that work within them. This is a narrow definition, as the term would usually refer to other types of organisations such as theatres, for example. I chose to concentrate on museums and galleries to keep the study focused. In addition, my professional experience relates mainly to the visual arts. The individuals within the museums and galleries are collectively referred to as 'cultural practitioners' or 'arts professionals'. These terms encapsulate a range of professional roles such as administrators, curators, directors and managers. These people may also be referred

to by their job titles, for example, 'arts manager' or 'senior curator'. The artists that participated in this research and others that are referred to in this thesis are understood to be independent, so they are not affiliated to a particular organisation and instead concentrate on their own artistic practice.

A number of acronyms are used throughout this thesis, all of which are introduced in the relevant sections. These include the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the UK Government department responsible for promoting British interests overseas, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and Arts Council England (ACE). The acronym WCP refers to the *World Collections Programme*, an international cultural programme involving six leading cultural organisations. The WCP is a major focal point within this thesis and is fully explained and discussed within the relevant sections.

Parameters of the Research

It is important at this point to define the parameters of the research. Firstly, I do not attempt to define 'policy'. This is contested ground and in the words of Ham and Hill, 'policy is indeed an extremely slippery concept' (1984:101). I do not address this, nor attempt to make any clarifications in this area. Instead, as can be observed throughout this thesis, I add to this notion of slipperiness and corroborate the status of policy as a disputed and difficult term to grasp.

At the beginning of this research, it was anticipated that it would be a study of museums and galleries across England. Indeed, a good geographical spread was a prerequisite of the initial interview sample. However, due to the adoption of a theoretical sampling technique, the research evolved in such a way that it ended up focussing largely on the major national institutions within London. This is fully explained within the methodology in Chapter Three.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis comprises seven chapters and a number of appendices. The literature review forms Chapter Two, where the concepts of instrumental policies and cultural diplomacy are explored. The methodological framework is discussed in Chapter Three, where I define, describe and justify the chosen methodology. Chapter Four introduces

the first stage of the empirical work, reporting the findings from the document analysis. An analysis of the interview data is presented in Chapter Five. The penultimate chapter presents a number of comparable cases from the public policy sector to demonstrate a striking number of parallels between the emergent findings and the discipline of political science. The final chapter draws together the findings from the two empirical data sets and the literature review, to offer a number of overarching conclusions.

Chapters Three, Four and Five can be read in parallel with appendices two and three, which document the methodological process and provide a selection of analytical workings. The second appendix presents a collection of workings from the document analyses. Essentially, it is the ongoing memo which was produced throughout the process, and includes notes and thematic mapping exercises. Appendix Three documents the interview data analysis. Again, it is the ongoing memo produced throughout the nine month process, and includes notes, thematic maps and photographs. It should be noted that whilst the appendices make the analytical process transparent, demonstrate rigour and substantiate the claims for reliability, the workings have been transcribed verbatim and appear in their original form. Therefore, as this material was not intended for general viewing when it was created, some of the notes and diagrams may not be self-explanatory but should, instead, be viewed within the context of the entire empirical work. This approach is justified in Chapter Three, where the importance of presenting these workings in their original form is set out. This reference material is indicated within the relevant sections of the thesis and both appendices two and three begin with a short text to explain their content.

The research developed organically, evolving in accordance with the findings from the empirical work. This resulted in a number of significant shifts in emphasis, as the data pushed me into areas that I had not anticipated. Whilst the research was based on a hypothesis and set out with a clear agenda, the empirical evidence and its corroboration propelled the study forward, and I ended up somewhere rather unexpected. Reading this thesis is an invitation to join me on this journey.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

This is a review of the literature on instrumental cultural policies and cultural diplomacy. It discusses the main theories and arguments, draws attention to inconsistencies, highlights points of contention and contextualises this study within the broader landscape of published work.

The previous chapter defined instrumental cultural policies. This chapter offers an abridged historical account of instrumental policies, outlining the key political developments that led to the dependence of the arts on public subsidy. The debate on instrumentalism can be classified into two distinct groups which are based on philosophical and evidential issues. This largely negative discussion forms a significant proportion of this chapter. The strategic use of instrumental policies by those within the cultural sector is the next area of focus. This is followed by an examination of cultural diplomacy and its rapid assimilation into the rhetoric of instrumentalism. This section places the debate within the broader context of international relations and shows how it reignited the strong opposition towards instrumentalism. By demonstrating the recurrent themes in the literature and the anomalies that merit further investigation, the chapter concludes by presenting the lines of enquiry that will be pursued through this empirical study.

Instrumental Cultural Policy

Cultural policy research is regarded as an emergent and interdisciplinary field. Academic research in this area began to flourish in the early 1990s, when the main journal in the field, now entitled the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, was founded. The expression 'instrumental cultural policy' can be traced back to this time and was first introduced 'in an attempt to make sense of the trends shown by public policies for the cultural sector since the 1980s' (Belfiore, 2004:184). Vestheim formally identified the term and his early definition, which appeared in the previous chapter, remains widely accepted.

A brief consideration of particular points within art history illustrate the persistent and pervasive nature of instrumentalism, not just to policy-making but to the production of art itself. Condensed moments in history provide early accounts of instrumentalism. Take Renaissance Italy, for example, six hundred years ago. Michael Baxandall's commentary on the country in the fifteenth century demonstrates that instrumental notions were central to the creation of artwork. Baxandall presents authentic correspondence between artists and their patrons to illustrate the relationship between the two parties and the exacting levels of prescription exercised by the benefactors. In these texts, artists can be seen to refer to themselves as the 'servants' of their funders, pledging to do 'exactly' (1988:3) what the patrons want 'in every respect' (1988:4). In turn, those funding the work specify every detail, from the precise monetary value of the painting's most expensive material, ultramarine - the imported, powdered lapis lazuli - to its depiction of figures and its deadline for completion. These original letters offer an insight into the 'weight of the client's hand' (1988:5). In Italy at this time, artwork was commissioned for a variety of reasons, ranging from active piety and civic consciousness in those who donated their works to the church through to the self-aggrandisement of the patron himself, with the artworks acting as important displays of wealth, status and power. This funding of art shows instrumental intent established long before any system of public subsidy was instated.

Going back further still, the Byzantine Empire offers a different example, where the sole purpose of art was for religious worship. Its creation was a religious act in itself, involving special prayers before commencement, with the resultant work acting as an aid to worship or a means of perceiving God through the contemplation of art. Any departure from the accepted style, subject matter, colours or composition was seen as an act of heresy. For the Byzantine, there was no non-religious art and so there was no question of it being anything other than purely instrumental (Mango, 1972). However, instrumental notions were so pervasive in Byzantine art that it was just assumed and not commented upon.

Belfiore argues that instrumental cultural policies were first theorised by the Greek philosopher Plato (427–347 BC). She draws comparisons between ongoing debates on instrumentalism and the Platonic idea that 'the transformative powers of the arts ought

to be harnessed by the state to promote a just society' (2006a:229). Plato's contribution in this area is acknowledged by Carey (2005) and O'Neill (2008), as well as the former Chairman of Arts Council England (henceforth ACE), Christopher Frayling, who states:

People tend to talk in terms of art for art's sake on the one hand, or art as a form of social engineering on the other. In fact the debate about the arts should be much more sophisticated than this; it has been going on since Plato's Republic, through Kant, the Enlightenment, Orwell, Leavis, Eliot and Williams (quoted by Higgins, 2009:11)

In this quotation, Frayling notes the longevity of instrumental policies, as well as the dichotomous and crude nature of the debate, a point which is explored later in this chapter.

Instrumental policies are deeply ingrained in the British political system, a point well-documented by the literature (see, for example, Bennett, 1995; Belfiore, 2004; Belfiore and Bennett, 2008 and Mirza, 2006). Gibson states that there is 'nothing remotely new' about instrumentalism (2008:249) and demonstrates this through outlining a number of historical examples. Similarly, Vuyk argues that the involvement of governments in the arts is well established and that instrumentality is 'a common trait' of the cultural policies of western governments (2010:177). Gray recognises that, fundamentally, all policies are intended to achieve *something* (1996; 2008).

In Britain, instrumental cultural policies were introduced in the nineteenth century and rooted in an authoritarian approach to cultural policy, associating the arts with public order, as a method of 'civilising' society (Bennett, 1995). For example, in the late 1800s, the Whitehall Gallery in East London aimed to elevate the people from the slums, who knew little about art or the 'decorum of the museum' (Sylvester, 2009:13). Gibson's account (2008) of England in the 1800s retells the story of Sir Henry Cole, founder of the South Kensington Museum, which later became the V&A, who famously justified public expenditure on gas lighting within the museum to enable evening opening and thus provide a healthy alternative to the gin palaces of Victorian London. Bennett argues that this has continued to provide the main theoretical basis of cultural

policy development, referring to it as 'trapped in the intellectual framework of the mid-nineteenth century' (1995:210).

In 1945 after World War II, the Labour party created the Welfare State, establishing the National Health Service, a national pension scheme and benefit system. Funding for the arts grew as Labour saw it as part of its strategy, believing that it should be accessible to everyone. The arts were integral in the post-war renewal programme, forming a key element of the reconstruction, with local authorities providing buildings for music, drama and art (Bennett, 1995), and distributing free tickets to encourage attendance (Hadaway, 2004). Mirza (2005) notes a range of political and social demands that the arts were used to fulfil including boosting morale and preserving national identity. The cultural sector thus became financially dependent on the state.

During Thatcher's era, the art for art's sake principle was no longer a justification of public subsidy. 'Art for art's sake' is the belief that the intrinsic value of art is separate from any other function. It is the assertion that art is not something to be used as a means to something else, but purely something to be accepted and enjoyed on its own terms. Cost-efficiency was the focus and emphasis was increasingly placed on the economic importance of the arts. Those within the cultural sector had to identify other ways to validate their existence. This signalled a defining moment in policy development as the economic crisis of the 1980s led to cuts in public spending, including arts subsidy. Numerous scholars acknowledge the changes that began during this period (see, for example, Belfiore, 2004; Bennett, 1995; Gray, 2000, 2007; Mirza, 2005; Quinn, 1998; Sandell, 2002 and Throsby, 2001).

More recently, instrumental policies gained a new-found prominence. New Labour adopted cultural policy to capture the spirit of 'Britishness', promoting 'everything from Beefeaters to Britpop' (Stevenson *et al*, 2010:251). Mirza notes that politicians had 'never devoted so much commitment to developing the arts and culture' (2006:13). However, this increased interest and support also brought instrumental cultural policies, which were explicitly tied to political objectives, using the arts to contribute towards the Government's social and economic agenda.

At present, in light of the current funding cuts, this period is now being described by some as a 'golden age' for the arts (see, for example, Frayling, 2005:11; Mirza, 2006:13; Higgins, 2007:18; Reynolds, 2007:12). This is due to the perceived stability and prosperity attributed to increased funding, free admission to museums and galleries, (Stevenson *et al*, 2010), arts education programmes and an acceptance of 'the new and the brave and the different' (Frayling, 2005:11). However, the literature throughout this time tells a different story. The published academic work expresses a fervent resistance to instrumental policies, due to widely held perceptions of the detrimental impact on artists, organisations and even art itself. New Labour's wholehearted embrace of instrumentalism provoked accusations of prescriptive policy-making, leading to a number of negative consequences. Such policies were believed to be imposed onto the cultural sector by the Government, resulting in tensions between the two.

This abridged chronology is useful to illustrate the entrenchment and persistence of instrumental policies, as well as the reliance of the arts on Government funding. Whilst this history is recounted by cultural policy researchers themselves, over the past 15 years, there has been an ongoing preoccupation with instrumentalism. In addition, it has proved to be an attractive subject for the professional press and has received intermittent attention from the broadsheet media.

Despite it being widely acknowledged that instrumentalism is not new, the labelling of the concept has led to a wealth of academic discussion. It is these debates that have helped to shape, establish and position cultural policy research as a discipline. The volume of criticism has also been prompted by New Labour's implementation of instrumental policies. The party's usage of such policies was more explicit than ever before, or, as Wilsher writes 'overt and unashamed' (2006:23), as they assumed a confident position within the funding framework, eclipsing the art for art's sake argument (Belfiore, 2004). It is not only the abundance of research that is striking, but the indignation provoked by the subject that has driven the debate, which has been vitriolic at times. Whilst Wilsher's choice of the adjectives denotes negativity, it is understated in comparison to a large proportion of the published material.

Instrumentalism has been a persistent and dominant theme within cultural policy research. The subject forms the basis of numerous symposia and conferences, it is consistently represented within published work and it has the ability to attract research funding. Examples include The University of Warwick's annual conference in 2005 and a series of workshops funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in 2007/8, which led to a special issue of the journal *Cultural Trends* in 2008. Instrumentalism has been consistently represented at the *International Conference for Cultural Policy Research*, the major academic conference in the field and the annual *Cultural Trends* conference in 2010 assigned a panel session to the subject.

On the periphery of academia, there has been similar sustained interest. In 2003, the think-tank Demos organised a conference entitled *Valuing Culture*, which explored instrumentalism. This was followed by the publication of two research reports - *Capturing Cultural Value* (Holden, 2004) and *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (Holden, 2006). Outside of academic work, research on instrumentalism is conducted by funders, such as independent and commercial agencies, and by cultural organisations in evaluating projects to provide evidence for policy development and the justification of public expenditure.

Whilst less sustained than in the academic journals, the debates on instrumentalism in the professional press have been fiercer. In many cases, it is these articles which inform the debate amongst practitioners in the cultural sector. So the dialogue on instrumentalism can be seen to straddle the academic and professional spheres, pervading theory as well as practice.

The published work on instrumentalism centres on two key lines of enquiry: firstly, the various issues related to the measurement and evaluation of instrumental policies, and secondly, the philosophical and moral debate surrounding their implementation. Before looking in more detail at these areas, it should be noted that instrumentalism is seldom viewed on its own terms as a policy concept. The discussion is both inextricably linked with, and inseparable from, commentary on 'social exclusion', a term introduced by New Labour to replace the previous language of 'poverty' and 'disadvantage' (Fairclough, 2000). Never before had combating social exclusion become so embedded

across the public policy portfolio (Belfiore, 2004; West and Smith, 2005). Hence, this notion of exclusion taints the debate on instrumentalism.

The Philosophical Debate

The philosophical debate surrounding instrumental policies simultaneously developed through the academic journals and the professional press. The corpus of scholarly and professional published work expresses a resistance to what is widely perceived as a political expropriation of the arts (Fox, 2007; Selwood, 2006; Sandell, 2002). Its opposition stems from a commitment to the art for art's sake principle and the alleged rigidity and overly-prescriptive nature of instrumental policies (Holden, 2004; Hadaway, 2003), which take priority over aesthetic considerations (Hadaway, 2003). Critics of instrumentalism argue that it leads to negative consequences including compromising artistic integrity (Bickers, 2002; Bickers, 2003; Belfiore, 2006b; Caust, 2003; Fox, 2002), lowering artistic quality (Bailey, 2000; Belfiore, 2006b; Bickers, 2002; Fox, 2002; Tusa, 1999), creating conflict with scholarly duties (Belfiore, 2002), increasing bureaucracy and putting an unnecessary burden on organisations in terms of administration (Bickers, 2003; Heal, 2007; Selwood, 2006; West and Smith, 2005; Belfiore, 2004) and expectation (Gray, 2007). The ultimate consequence is that these policies result in 'bad art' (Pick and Anderton, 1999 cited in Caust, 2003:58) or, as Hadaway refers to it, 'dull, derivative work' (Hadaway, 2003:40). Instrumental policies are believed to be imposed by the Government, therefore transposing responsibility away from the state (Charlesworth, 2000) and furthermore, creating tensions between Government and the cultural sector (Newman and McLean, 2004).

Some of the resistance to instrumental policies stemmed from New Labour's emphasis on 'evidence-based policy'. This fresh justification for expenditure led to increased accountability of public monies in a move towards greater efficiency, encompassing the whole public sector. Sandell comments on the move away from:

more abstract, theorised and equivocal to become more concretised and more closely linked to contemporary social policy and the combating of specific forms of disadvantage (2002:3)

The new emphasis on evidence meant that areas of public policy were required to demonstrate that they were achieving the goals set out by the Government. Belfiore writes:

According to the Cabinet Office, policy-making grounded in hard evidence (and thus constant monitoring) is the best guarantee towards the achievement of a more rational and modernised Government. Modernisation, together with a growing emphasis on increased managerialism in the delivery of public services, is perceived as resulting in improved efficiency, effectiveness and value for money (2004:189)

New Labour was unequivocal in this intention (Belfiore, 2004; Selwood, 2006). Evidence was required to demonstrate that the arts were achieving their objectives, with the impact measured on a range of social policy areas including employment, health, education and community relations (Selwood, 2001).

Those in the professional and academic circles objected due to the conceptual difficulties involved in demonstrating causality and the methods used to collect data, perceived to be overly officious and administratively burdensome. Many argued that the drive towards evidence put an unfair responsibility on cultural organisations, as Belfiore states:

it is undeniable that the subsidised arts sector in the United Kingdom is under increasing pressure today to gather data on its impacts on society and on the national economy. This is a necessary process in order to produce “hard evidence” to try and demonstrate that the sector can live up to the Government's expectations (2004:195)

Despite the arguments for increased efficiency, many in the cultural sector believed that the increased pressure was bureaucratic (Bickers, 2003; Heal, 2007; Selwood, 2006; West and Smith, 2005; Belfiore, 2004) and ill-conceived (Gray, 2007). Moreover, this move towards the creation of an evidence base was taken a step further by the Government, which threatened to cut subsidy if targets were not met and organisations were deemed to be ‘under-performing’. Bailey (2003) reports on the DCMS’s threats to withhold grants and Selwood writes:

At the outset, DCMS implied that what was needed was for organisations to deliver. The department saw its function as being ‘to give direction, set targets, chase progress

and take 'direct action' where appropriate' and the former Secretary of State, The Rt Hon Chris Smith, threatened 'to bang heads together' if necessary (2006:41)

These views represent a departure from earlier, more consensual statements made by the Government. For example, during a speech in 2002, David Blunkett pledged to be guided by an:

open-minded approach to understanding what works and why ... using information and knowledge much more effectively and creatively at the heart of policy-making and policy delivery (Wells, 2007:22)

Whilst the majority of commentary on instrumental policies is highly oppositional and negative, there is a small proportion that is at the other extreme and fully supportive of the Government's intentions to use policies instrumentally. For example, Sandell argues:

Many museums, in their desire for autonomy, resistance to change and disengagement from societal concerns run the risk of becoming increasingly irrelevant and anachronistic in their values (2002:21)

Similarly to the previous sources, this argument is predicated on instrumentalism being a moral concern. Likewise, Sandell distils the issue into a straightforward matter of 'right' or 'wrong', and 'good' or 'bad'. He implies that if museums do not embrace social inclusion, then they do not wish for social equality and that this rejection of instrumentalism is caused by a 'desire for autonomy' and 'resistance to change'. Gaither (1992) expresses a similar view:

Museums have obligations as both educational and social institutions to participate in and contribute towards the restoration of wholeness in the communities of our country ... If our museums cannot muster the courage to tackle these considerations in ways appropriate to their various missions and scales then concern must be raised for how they justify the receipt of support from the public (Cited in Sandell, 2002:19)

Again, Gaither's personal ethical belief adds to the emerging sense of the dichotomy within the debate. In this quote, to have the 'courage' to 'restore communities' justifies public subsidy. If organisations choose not to fulfil what is perceived as a social responsibility, then funding should be revoked. These are binary philosophical views

and more pointedly, there seems to be no empirical basis for these assertions, as the arguments at the other extreme also demonstrate. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

In an attempt to argue against instrumental and 'evidence-based' policies, a standpoint was taken whereby any focus on instrumentalism was deemed to detract from 'intrinsic' value (Holden, 2004; McCarthy et al, 2004). Something is said to have intrinsic value if it is good 'in and of itself', that is, not merely as a means for acquiring something else. Intrinsic values relate to the subjective experience of art intellectually, emotionally and spiritually (Holden, 2006). Therefore, the discussion positioned 'the intrinsic' alongside the abandoned art for art's sake principle, bringing with it ideas of 'cultural value', quality and excellence. Hadaway states:

From the earliest days of government intervention, official interest tended to focus on the measurable public benefits of art, over and above the principle of excellence (2003:39)

However, whilst this offered an opportunity to argue for art for art's sake, the debate assumed an oppositional 'intrinsic versus instrumental' stance, which translated simplistically as 'excellence versus access', eliminating the possibility that cultural activity could be both. The literal reading of the label 'intrinsic versus instrumentalism', is pertinent since the discussion of cultural activity falls into one of these binary categories. Despite contributing to this, Holden recognises that:

The arguments seem to have got stuck in the old intellectual tramlines very quickly: instrumental vs. intrinsic value, floppy bow ties vs. hard-headed 'realists', excellence vs. access. Worse still, the instrumental/intrinsic debate has tended to polarise on class lines: aesthetic values for the middle classes, instrumental outcomes for the poor and disadvantaged (2004:25)

The former Secretary of State Tessa Jowell acknowledged this shift and attempted to propose a new way of valuing culture 'that would go beyond the kind of reductive box-ticking that her government was accused of promoting' (Wilkinson, 2008:335). In this personal essay, or, as Bickers (2004) terms it, her 'palliative' paper, Jowell acknowledged that the Government was following a utilitarian agenda, emphasising the

need to change 'the terms of debate' (2004:8) to find a new way of expressing the value of culture.

Despite these attempts to unify the intrinsic and instrumental, the polarisation of these terms can only be attributed to the commentators on the subject. These conflicting positions became increasingly divisive with anti-instrumental arguments becoming susceptible to accusations of elitism (Fox, 2002; Gibson, 2009; Hadaway, 2004; Holden, 2004). The introduction of 'intrinsic value' and the subsequent ghettoization of ideas such as elitism have led to confusion in conceptualising how to value culture, which has only served to further dichotomise the debate. O'Brien (2010) argues that the division is unhelpful, unclear and misleading, and Davies describes it as an 'intellectual muddle' (2008:259).

This emphasis on 'value' and the widely perceived growth of instrumentalism at the expense of the intrinsic, led to ACE and the DCMS taking direct action in an attempt to move away from this polarisation and present a more balanced viewpoint whereby the two perspectives co-exist. In 2006, ACE launched an inquiry to explore the concept of public value and found that participants recognised the importance of both intrinsic and instrumental value (Bunting, 2008). In turn, the DCMS commissioned Brian McMaster to undertake a review in 2008 and report on encouraging excellence within the arts. This report was a direct result of the overt criticism of the perceived growth and imposition of instrumental policies. It involved a consultation with the cultural sector to explore 'light' and 'non-bureaucratic' methods to judge quality (2008:6). McMaster argued that external measurement should be replaced by professional judgement (O'Neill, 2008). The report's foreword by the then Secretary of State James Purnell asserts:

The time has come to reclaim the word 'excellence' from its historic, elitist undertones and to recognise that the very best art and culture is for everyone; that it has the power to change people's lives, regardless of class, education or ethnicity ... It is also time to trust our artists and our organisations to do what they do best - to create the most excellent work they can - and to strive for what is new and exciting, rather than what is safe and comfortable. To do this we must free artists and cultural organisations from outdated structures and burdensome targets, which can act as millstones around the neck of creativity (2008:4)

This quotation is a recognition of the 'intrinsic' and the report sends out a clear message to those within the cultural sector, in McMaster's words, that 'an appreciation of the profound value of art and culture' must drive a future 'Renaissance' (2008:5). These quotes indicate a departure from previous announcements by the DCMS such as the assertion that museums, galleries and archives should 'act as vehicles for positive social change' (2000:9). Gray's research (2008) shows a similar picture presented at a local level. These discrepancies demonstrate inconsistencies within Government's approach to instrumental policies, suggesting that its position softened over time, perhaps in response to critics.

Thus, these examples demonstrate that policy-making circles do respond, often reactively, to debate within the academic and professional spheres. The material presented also illustrates that the 'intrinsic versus instrumental' debate was constructed philosophically with assertions not evidenced through practice or empirical data. Other writers such as O'Neill (2008) detect the possibility of a 'false dichotomy', noting that some of this material reinforces this divide. This could suggest that the written debate has not only constructed this duality but continues to propagate it. This is further exacerbated by not applying these concepts to practice.

In 2009, the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) hosted a policy seminar to discuss how to capture the value of culture, media and sport, bringing together academics, independent researchers, policy-makers and practitioners. Gibson highlighted the lack of consensus regarding key terms and demonstrated the variability in what is described as intrinsic and instrumental, a point also made by O'Neill (2008). This formed a key element in Gibson's article, *In Defence of Instrumentality*, which responded to the intensity of the discussion. Gibson interpreted the debate as factually incorrect and conceptually flawed, noting that the "instrumental/intrinsic" dichotomy is too simplistic to allow grounded critical engagement with the real complexities' (2008:247).

Gibson identifies the binary divide in which the discussion is trapped but does not develop the argument further. Whilst 'instrumental' and 'intrinsic' appear to be at odds, a full critique of this dichotomy is not realised, so the true incompatibility of the

terms cannot be completely ascertained. However, Gibson's ideas advance the debate and signal a different line of enquiry beyond the repetitious argumentation. Conversely, across the literature, there is no commentary on the adequacy of 'intrinsic value' as a policy rationale, which is further complicated by policy-making in democracies which involve public subsidy and an inherent need for accountability.

Despite calling for both a critical and practical approach, Gibson's article is not empirically grounded, instead discussing instrumental policies abstractly and conceptually. This is a broader issue, as the published work is largely based on the moral and philosophical inclinations and beliefs of the writers. It is unclear whether it is the reporting of cultural policy research that omits methodological detail or whether the research itself is not founded on empirical data. There are some exceptions to this, where empirical work is evidenced, but these are minimal and insignificant when considered alongside the volume of published material in this area. Such exceptions are not framed within an explicit empirical context and lack methodological clarity. The omission of empirical data is further intensified by the self-referential nature of the literature. Major arguments are validated through repetition amongst the main sources. Bibliographies from key papers demonstrate a small number of voices engaged in the same discussion. This may be due to cultural policy research being a fairly new discipline which is seeking to establish itself. These issues will be further considered in the next chapter where the difficulties in finding an appropriate methodological framework are discussed. It is also explored in the subsequent discussion of the utility of cultural policy research.

The Evidence Debate

This section focuses on the methodological challenges in measuring the effectiveness of instrumental policies, capturing their impact and establishing causation. Attempts to monitor and measure instrumental policies have been criticised, often vehemently, as methodologically weak. Bennett comments on previous impact studies as 'largely discredited' (1995:213) for being misleading; Belfiore describes them as 'rather dubious' (2004:197) and Selwood (2002c) dismisses them as 'methodologically flawed and spurious' (cited in Brighton, 2006:124).

The emphasis on 'evidence-based' policy-making and the Government's threats of funding cuts offer a partial clue as to the passionate nature of some of the published work. Even in the methodological discussion, a substantial proportion of the commentary is based on moral outrage and personal frustration, rather than scholarly evidence, as the comment below by Tusa illustrates:

In backing 'the arts that pay', and overlooking and undervaluing 'the arts that cost', Mr Blair shows himself to be the true son of Margaret Thatcher (1999:76)

Despite the arguments for increased efficiency, many argue that this drive towards evidence puts unfair responsibility on cultural organisations, as was discussed in the philosophical debate, which touched upon the perceived bureaucratic burden of instrumental policies. This fixation with measurement and evidence is a key area of contention within the academic debate. There is an extensive body of writing on the problems of measurement and evaluation of instrumental policies. A useful starting point is Gray, who reports Pick's argument, which believes that instrumental policies are intrinsically flawed, as cultural policies are primarily intended to achieve cultural and artistic objectives, before other goals. Gray states: 'cultural policies cannot achieve what Governments want, or that they achieve it at an irresponsible cost' (2007:114). Here, Gray suggests that it is an absurdity to expect culture to deliver on social, economic or political concerns before making an artistic contribution and his use of the phrase 'or that they achieve it at an irresponsible cost' can be interpreted as a subtle forewarning. Similarly, Selwood proposes an equally fundamental problem, in that some believe that: 'the concept of the arts itself is elusive and indefinable and any attempt to measure it cannot begin to represent its essential quality' (2006:38).

Selwood cites the former Minister for the Arts, Estelle Morris, who expressed similar sentiments, emphasising the need to communicate the value of the arts in language that would be understood by the Treasury. Both assert that the arts cannot be subjected to the same measurement procedures as other areas of policy. However, there is a further complication related to demonstrating a causal link, that is, to prove that any social effect on an individual is the impact of the arts and nothing else, as Belfiore argues:

Participation in a cultural activity is not enough to argue that the transformation was caused by the arts activity itself. For the arts impact argument to hold, it is crucial to establish a causal relation between the transformation observed and the cultural project or activity being evaluated (2006b:30, emphasis in original)

This gets straight to the root of the problem. To prove that the arts were responsible for creating a particular positive outcome or impact is methodologically unfeasible. Selwood terms this 'measuring the unmeasurable' (2006:48) and essentially, this fundamental point closes down the debate.

However, this has not disrupted or lessened the discussion. One prominent area of debate has been in revealing the Government's admission of the lack of evidence and impact. Belfiore cites a Government research report which acknowledged:

it remains a fact that relative to the volume of arts activity taking place in the country's poorest neighbourhoods, the evidence of the contribution it makes to neighbourhood renewal is paltry (2002:94 citing DCMS, 1999)

Likewise, Selwood draws attention to similar declarations, again, citing a DCMS source: 'We do not have enough information to judge whether such gains are enough' (2002c:online).

Newman and McLean (2004) demonstrated the lack of coherence and institutional clarity within the DCMS, using interview data to illustrate that Government has concerns about the social impact of the arts and acknowledges the marginal impact on social exclusion. This is one of the few overt empirical studies of instrumental policies within the field.

Despite espousing 'management by measurement' and calling for 'evidence-based' policy-making, the Government had to admit a lack of proof of the effectiveness of the arts in this area. Furthermore, whilst there are public admissions, Government increasingly makes the case for instrumental policies and enforces the collection of data. Belfiore comments: 'The growing trend towards instrumentality has not been slowed down by the obvious lack of evidence of the existence of such impacts' (2006b:34).

This point is widely supported across the literature (see, for example, Belfiore, 2004; Belfiore and Bennett, 2007; Carey, 2005; Gray, 2007; Merli, 2002; Selwood, 2006).

Whilst important to highlight discrepancies and inconsistencies, this, in turn, discredits the Government and creates a heightened sense of opposition between the state and the cultural sector. This is not an argument for concealing these contradictions, but rather, to highlight this notion of conflict, which was raised in the previous section.

Selwood takes this a stage further, questioning the integrity of the DCMS:

Given that no previous manifestation of UK cultural policy has been so highly determined nor so closely audited, one might reasonably ask what evidence there is to demonstrate that DCMS is delivering on its intentions ... The process of converting intention into effect has evidently proved more problematic than the rhetoric suggests ... the claims made on behalf of the subsidised cultural sector remain unsubstantiated, and many of the assumptions, methodologies and 'procedures' set in train to achieve New Labour's cultural policies have come to be perceived as being inadequate to the task (2006:40-41)

This quote exemplifies the hostility expressed towards Government and policy-makers by some academics. This promotes conflict between the Government and the cultural sector.

There is a strong consensus within the literature about the methodological difficulties in measuring instrumental policies (Mirza, 2005; Belfiore, 2006b; Bennett, 1995; Hansen, 1995; Selwood, 2006). Belfiore (2006b) comments that this persistent dissatisfaction reflects the difficulty of the task. Attempts to report, demonstrate and, in many cases, seemingly expose, these flawed and inaccurate studies have resulted in a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention being focused on this area.

This chapter has reviewed the difficulties inherent in the evaluation of instrumental policies. It is important now to demonstrate how the literature has also expressed disdain for this type of evaluation activity more generally, which is evident through the persistence, abundance and force of the criticism. An example is the response to what was deemed the most controversial impact study, Matarasso's *Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of Participation Art* in 1997. At the time, despite being the most extensive research project into the social impact of participation in the arts in Britain, it has been

vehemently discredited by a number of scholars (Belfiore, 2002, 2006b; Merli, 2002; West and Smith, 2005; Brighton, 2006b). Belfiore's criticism is controlled and sustained, in contrast to the ferocity of Merli's response, which condemned Matarasso's study as 'flawed in its design, execution and conceptual basis' (2002:108). Whilst these points are corroborated by Belfiore, it is the vociferous nature of Merli's argument that is of interest, at times, appearing like a personal attack. She enters into the territory of outrage, rather than of rational scholarly critique. Merli and Belfiore's papers were published in the same issue of the *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, thus sending a clear message about the credibility of Matarasso's study.

Matarasso's critics focus on a wide range of issues including research questions that do not relate to a hypothesis (Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2006b); bias (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002; West and Smith, 2005); lack of control group (Belfiore, 2006b; Merli, 2002) and 'before/after comparison' (Belfiore, 2006b); no longitudinal dimension (Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2002, 2006b); lack of attention to the context (Belfiore, 2002); reliance on statistics (Belfiore, 2002); no causal link established (Merli, 2002; Belfiore, 2006b); no external validity (Merli, 2002); flawed arguments (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002); vagueness (Belfiore, 2006b) and data that cannot support the conclusions (Belfiore, 2002; Merli, 2002 and West and Smith, 2005). Nevertheless, Matarasso's study continues to be referred to by practitioners, policy-makers and Government (Belfiore, 2006b). Furthermore, he became a Government consultant and was frequently cited in speeches by the former Secretary of State, Chris Smith. He is now involved in numerous QUANGOs and is a member of the council of ACE (Brighton, 2006a). The supposed lack of credibility of Matarasso's research has been of no detriment to his professional standing. There is evidently a discrepancy between what is referred to as research amongst policy-makers and practitioners, and what research means within an academic institution. It should be noted that I am not arguing here that academic work is rigorous and therefore, acceptable, whilst other types of research are not. I am merely drawing attention to the fact that in practice, the gathering of information, for example, a feasibility study, is seen as research, whereas in academia, it is the collection and analysis of such data that is viewed as research.

Some specific judgments of Matarasso's research are wider criticisms of impact studies more generally. These include a reliance on statistics (Belfiore, 2006b; West and Smith, 2005); lack of harmonisation (West and Smith, 2005); difficulties in translating qualitative data into quantitative terms that are meaningful to the Treasury (Newman and McLean, 2004); issues with aggregating results (Selwood, 2002a) and ethical considerations (Belfiore, 2004; Merli, 2002). Finally, Brighton criticises those in the cultural sector who argue for more effective evaluation methods, stating:

In as much as they presume the arts should be subject to impact studies they have conceded and are aiding and abetting the use of art as a social weapon ... They are, in other words, taking money to service the government's political managerialism (2006b:125)

Again, it is the language here that is the point of interest, with the use of legal parlance redolent of criminal activity and terms such as 'conceded', suggestive of defeat. This is another example of a moral standpoint rather than impartial scholarly argument based on rational evidence. It is also a further case of the published literature actively encouraging an opposition between Government and the cultural sector.

To conclude this section, as can be observed through the literature, a whole range of issues are involved in what Belfiore terms the 'evidence dilemma' (2006b:33-34). What is important to note is the oppositional character of the literature, not only through the rejection of instrumentalism but the pitching of Government against the cultural sector. The absence of empirical data across this literature only serves to heighten the emotive nature of the commentary.

The Two-Way Argument

Despite the focus on the detrimental effects of instrumentalism, the resistance to it and the methodological difficulties in capturing impact, there is also evidence to suggest that instrumentalism has been beneficial to the arts and that those within the cultural sector have argued for it. Belfiore points out that the arts were an area of 'low priority in political discourse' (2006b:20) in relation to other policy areas and that instrumental policies have provided the cultural sphere with an 'unprecedented visibility and prominence in public policy discourse' (2006b:22). This enhanced status has enabled

the arts to 'tap into other public policy budgets' (2006b:21), a concept termed 'policy attachment' by Gray (2002). Policy attachment involves a 'weak' or peripheral area of policy attaching itself to other policy concerns that are of greater political significance. An example of this is New Labour's use of the arts within its overall strategy to combat social exclusion. In this case, politicians and policy-makers now have a growing interest in the arts in a way that they did not previously, a point largely overlooked by anti-instrumental arguments.

What is most striking, is that despite the strong reaction against instrumental policies, as demonstrated by the tone and content of the literature, when there are funding cuts or threats to reduce subsidy, some in the cultural sector use the instrumentalist agenda to defend their case. Belfiore (2011) terms this 'defensive instrumentalism, suggesting that there is some differentiation of the concept. This is an important marker as the first attempt to recognise fine distinctions within instrumentalism. She posits this as a 'variant' of instrumentalism, noting the protective and defensive character of the cultural sector's response to New Labour cultural policies.

During Thatcher's Government, those in the arts justified their existence through their social and economic contribution. It is this assertion that has become a tactic of survival for the arts, providing a 'precious lifeline' (Myerscough, 1988 cited in Belfiore, 2004:188). The cultural sector had no option but to argue for the instrumental cultural policies of the 1980s 'in the face of reduced Government spending and the erosion of the legitimacy of its traditional theoretical grounds' (Belfiore, 2004:188). Again, when Government reduced its spending on the arts by £30 million in 2005, many within the sector felt that their 'socially-oriented work had been overlooked' (Mirza, 2006:14-15). This response has been used as a strategy throughout the last three decades. Fundamentally, it is not only that the erroneous impact studies have been ignored, but instead, positive declarations have been made about the potential of the arts. This firmly undermines anti-instrumental arguments and signifies a fragmentation between the literature and practice. This complexity is apparent in the following quotes by Tusa. During a seminar, he told former Prime Minister, Tony Blair:

Over the last decade, the extent to which the arts play an important part in economic regeneration, job creation and tourism has become well understood, evaluated and costed (1999:84)

Tusa, who, ironically, referred to Blair as the 'son of Thatcher', adopts the strategy advocated by the Thatcherite Government in expressing the contribution of the arts to wider political objectives. Furthermore, as the debate in the previous section illustrated, it is not possible to verify Tusa's claims. This demonstrates his intention to utilise the rhetoric to secure funds for the arts. It appears less important whether this statement is accurate, as it is more about the power to persuade and the ability to influence an audience.

There are many other examples of this, such as Sandell, who claimed that 'there is a growing body of qualitative research into social impacts' (2002:21). When discussing the former Chairman of ACE, Gerry Robinson, Tusa says: 'Robinson makes the now familiar and well accepted case for the arts as significant contributors to the physical and spiritual well-being of society' (1999:103).

ACE's manifesto, *Ambitions for the Arts* states:

We will argue that being involved with the arts can have a lasting and transforming effect on many aspects of people's lives. This is true not just for individuals, but also for neighbourhoods, communities, regions and entire generations, whose sense of identity and purpose can be changed through art (cited in Belfiore, 2004:185)

These assertions made verbally, in official documents and in academic textbooks cannot be substantiated, yet they gain credibility through repetition and persistence. These declarations remain a key element of the prevailing discourse of policy-makers, practitioners, politicians and academics alike. This argument is used as a tool of survival and protection against funding cuts. This occurs in the highest echelons of the political system. The former Secretary of State Chris Smith used arguments 'pertaining to the transformative, educative and economic impacts of the arts, because he knew they would make the desired impression upon the Treasury' (Belfiore, 2010:13). Smith stated:

I acknowledge unashamedly that when I was Secretary of State, going into what always seemed like a battle with the Treasury, I would try and touch the buttons that would work. I would talk about the educational value of what was being done. I would be passionate about artists working in schools. I would refer to the economic value that can be generated from creative and cultural activity. I would count the added numbers who would flock into a free museum. If it helped to get more funds flowing into the arts, the argument was worth deploying. And I still believe, passionately, that it was the right approach to take. If it hadn't been taken, the outcome would have left the arts in much poorer condition (quoted in Belfiore, 2009:349)

This section has demonstrated the utility of instrumental policies to the arts. At a conference in 2010, Belfiore indirectly acknowledged this, stating that 'in times of anxiety and uncertainty, the appeal of instrumentalism is irresistible' (2010b). There are times when instrumentalism has its rhetorical uses, which is unacknowledged by its opponents and ignored by the literature. The binary categorisations of the instrumentalism debate fail to capture what is taking place in practice.

Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Relations

Britain has a strong tradition of cultural diplomacy and there is a rich legacy of cultural internationalism (Iriye, 1997). Despite this, cultural diplomacy has failed to attract significant scholarly attention and there is limited literature on international cultural relations (Reeves, 2007). Regardless of this subject being relevant to other well-studied areas within international relations, for these reasons, it lacks theoretical progress (Iriye, 1997), is 'poorly explicated' (Mark, 2010:64) and 'little understood' (Mitchell, 1986:xiii). Mark states that the discipline of international relations has 'almost entirely ignored' cultural diplomacy and studies of diplomacy 'have paid little attention to it' (2010:63).

The published work on cultural diplomacy consists mainly of American academic sources, which focus on the historic and political aspects, most notably its role within the Cold War, rather than taking an artistic or contemporary perspective (see, for example, Liping, 1999; Mulcahy, 1999; Tenenbaum, 2001; Kushner, 2002; Finn, 2003; Gould-Davies, 2003; Richmond, 2005; Vaughan, 2005). Some writing in this area advocates cultural diplomacy. Academic material on cultural diplomacy distinguishes cultural diplomacy from cultural relations. The former is defined as: 'the exchange of

ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding' (Cummings, 2004:1).

Whilst accurate in one sense, the definition by Cummings fails to convey that cultural diplomacy is a matter of the state (Iriye, 1997) and its purpose is political (Mitchell 1986:4). Both sub-disciplines of international relations, cultural diplomacy and cultural relations share many characteristics, but there is also a distinct difference. Cultural relations adopts the methods of cultural diplomacy, but the 'exchange' is undertaken by 'educators and expositors' (Mitchell, 1986:xii), as opposed to diplomats, ambassadors and other government officials. Mitchell elaborates:

[cultural relations] are more neutral and comprehensive ... The purpose of cultural relations is not necessarily ... to seek one-sided advantage ... their purpose is to achieve understanding and cooperation between national societies for their mutual benefit. Cultural relations proceed ideally by the accretion of open professional exchanges rather than by selective self-projection. They purvey an honest picture of each country rather than a beautified one. They do not conceal but neither do they make a show of national problems. They neither pretend that warts are not there nor do they parade them to the repugnance of others (1986:5)

This establishes and clarifies the distinction, which is absent from the material in the professional and mainstream press. One key document in this area, related to the subject of internationalism in a cultural policy sense, is a research report by the think-tank Demos (Bound et al, 2007). This document conflates international cultural activity with cultural diplomacy, to assume instrumental policy-making from the beginning, with the arts having a diplomatic role within this broader political landscape. The Demos report starts by setting the historical context, that since ancient times, culture has been used by leaders and countries to display assets, forge relationships and assert power. The document discusses the perception of culture in diplomacy as useful but not essential and secondary to 'hard power' such as military capability. Mark states that cultural diplomacy is dismissed by those in political diplomacy as a 'lesser tool' and cites Ninkovich, who refers to it as a 'minor cog in the gearbox of foreign policy' (2010:63). Despite these perceptions, the Demos report argues that culture is a 'vital' (2007:11) and 'essential component' (2007:21) of international relations. The report explains: 'we should no longer think of culture as subordinate to politics. Instead we

should think of culture as *providing the operating context for politics*' (2007:20, emphasis in original).

The Demos report presents case studies and examples of best practice, arguing that effort needs to be coordinated and a more 'strategic and systematic approach' (2007:12) is required. It urges the country to revisit its attitude and commitment 'to the power of this medium' through outlining an 'ambitious programme for change' (2007:12-13) with recommendations for Government, evidently, the audience for this document.

This report is a carefully constructed exercise in advocacy and rhetoric, pitching the international work of the cultural organisations to Government and its sponsors. For example, it takes different approaches in arguing the 'tangible benefits' (2007:22) of international cultural activity to the country. The report states:

Cultural diplomacy, which is about the quest for the tourist dollar as well as the battle for hearts and minds, is a competitive marketplace. The UK has lost its primacy in manufacturing, sport and politics, but is still among world leaders in terms of culture ... the national institutions occupy a special place ... their position as global leaders is constantly under pressure, and cannot be taken for granted. To be effective, the UK's cultural status – in terms of material assets and professional capacity – must be vigilantly maintained and kept up to date (2007:18-19)

The document goes beyond the conventional remit of 'cultural diplomacy', as defined earlier. It asserts the importance of cultural organisations to the nation's economy, arguing that subsidy must be maintained in order for them to remain 'global leaders' and continue to generate income for the country through tourism. It devotes a whole chapter to 'maximising the UK's cultural competitive advantage', positioning the work of the organisations in a global marketplace. More pointedly, it draws attention to the lack of investment into cultural diplomacy, as compared to America and mainland Europe, highlighting its status as an 'add-on, rather than being part of the core business of foreign relations' (Bound et al, 2007:22). By emphasising the lack of financial support, it suggests that the UK is behind other countries in its political thinking and strategy. In other words, the familiar two-way instrumental argument is utilised, but this time, instead of arguing against cuts in subsidy, the report is lobbying for funding.

This is another example of the use and role of rhetoric as a strategy, a recurring theme throughout this literature review, suggesting that language, expression and communication is of key importance in cultural policy. This is a point which merits further consideration and will be discussed later in relation to the findings from this study.

The Demos report states that the term cultural diplomacy 'is not easily defined' (Bound *et al*, 2007:16). As such, academic papers on the subject rarely define it (see, for example, Parsons, 1985; Finn, 2003; Gould-Davies, 2003; Kennedy, 2003; Vickers, 2004; Channick, 2005; Saeki, 2005; Hicks, 2007; Brademas, 2009; Keith, 2009). Instead, the key terms are used indirectly, loosely and interchangeably. For example, in the recommendations chapter of the Demos report, suggestions are made for greater coordination of cultural diplomacy work. If the formal distinction is to be observed, it appears to be discussing cultural relations. Likewise, the DCMS's *International Strategy*, a document that is the focus of the empirical analysis in Chapter Four, seems to straddle cultural diplomacy and cultural relations. The international agenda is set by Government, deemed in the interest of the nation, rooted in FCO policy and employs Government resources. However, it is carried out by cultural organisations, artists, musicians, actors, curators and sportspeople.

This illustrates that there is little correlation between strategy documents, for example, the Demos report and the DCMS's *International Strategy*, and academic texts. Within the various sources, there is a further lack of consensus about the terminology itself and its usage. Mark notes the lack of clarity about 'what precisely the practice entails' (2010:63). This reveals a potential fissure between theory and practice, and draws parallels with the instrumental debate, where similar issues of terminology were reported, including a paucity of definitions. Vestheim's offering is the only formal definition of the concept within cultural policy and is widely used.

With regards to cultural diplomacy, the situation is further complicated by the tensions and inconsistencies exhibited by those practicing cultural diplomacy. Iriye comments that cultural relations is 'frequently ridiculed' (1997:2) by practitioners of power politics, exemplified by President Nixon referring to it as 'wish-dreams, woolly minded

and idealist' (Reeves, 2007:59). Reeves discusses cultural relations in a casual and imprecise manner, emphasising 'personal encounters' (2007:45) and first impressions. Despite criticising Nixon's attitude towards cultural relations, she is equally disparaging about cultural diplomacy, asking wearily what poetry can do to reduce biological weaponry. Vaughan (2005) also concludes that it is unrealistic to expect cultural diplomacy to bridge deep and wide political gulfs. Schneider (2010) counters this by stating that whilst cultural diplomacy will not solve political crises, it can help to reverse the decline in relations through increased understanding and respect.

These analyses demonstrate a further dichotomy. On one hand, cultural relations and cultural diplomacy are perceived as a peripheral matter within political diplomacy, yet on the other, they are accused of 'colonialism, imperialism and propaganda', which assume 'a good measure of power and effectiveness' (Reeves, 2007:60). Mitchell asserts that cultural relations is committed to 'seeking improvement' (1986:29). In his attempts to clarify the interrelated concepts, he broaches propaganda, a misunderstood term due to its abuses by dominant aggressive states. Mitchell defends it and draws attention to its absence across the literature: 'cultural propaganda is at one end of a scale that passes through cultural diplomacy to cultural relations at the other end' (1986:28).

Mulcahy (1999) discusses the negative connotations of propaganda and emphasises the importance of distinguishing the term from diplomacy. Mitchell's notion of a continuum is helpful in locating the key concepts, as well as understanding their differences. To define something is to state its precise meaning. A scale offers flexibility that is not possible through rigid formulations. The definition of terms and their usage within policy and the process of its making are clearly areas that require further attention and are considered through the course of this study.

Cultural Diplomacy: A New Instrumental Policy?

As previously touched upon, the discourse on instrumentalism is deeply rooted in debates on social exclusion. However, cultural diplomacy, as an emerging strand of policy, has not received the same degree of attention nor condemnation. The response to Matarasso's study, for example, came five years after it was published. In contrast,

there has been a far smaller yet more immediate response to cultural diplomacy, which has been quickly enveloped into a journalistic discourse, receiving coverage in the broadsheets and professional magazines such as *Art Quarterly* and *Museums Journal*. However, whilst the number of articles is small (fewer than ten), the reaction has been similarly strong and highly emotive. There has also been relatively little scholarly engagement with the subject in cultural policy studies. Mulcahy asserts that cultural diplomacy is inherently part of broader foreign policy, rather than a cultural policy in itself. He sees cultural diplomacy as an 'instrument of foreign policy' (1999:9), as opposed to an instrumental policy. Singh disagrees, commenting that 'cultural diplomacy is an explicit cultural-policy instrument' (2010:12).

The short editorials in the professional and mainstream press on cultural diplomacy were responses to the high profile launch of the Demos report at the V&A in 2007. Like the report, these articles conflate cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism, but they take the opposite stance and warn against the use of the arts for this purpose. They advocate resisting cultural diplomacy on the grounds of the perceived negative outcomes of instrumental policies.

Bailey raises the issue that if arts organisations pursue international activities, they may become regarded as 'extensions of Foreign and Commonwealth Office policy' (2007:26). The Demos report itself highlights the potentially instrumental usage but does not pursue this further. It reads:

This report does not argue that culture should be used as a tool of public diplomacy. The value of cultural activity comes precisely from its independence, its freedom and the fact that it represents and connects people, rather than necessarily governments or policy positions (2007:12-13, emphasis in original)

Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum and the DCMS's first 'Cultural Ambassador' agrees with the need for independence and does not use the term 'cultural diplomacy', due to its connotations: 'The problem is that many regard 'diplomacy' as the particular policies of a particular government' (Bailey, 2007:26).

The issue is how independence can be achieved when funding comes from the Government. The Demos report later discusses the 'alignment' of cultural organisations with the Government:

for those institutions wishing to access the enhanced funding and services proposed in this report, they should be able to show how their work aligns with government priorities (2007:49)

This statement is inconsistent with the earlier quote about independence and freedom, fully advocating instrumental concessions. Wajid comments that there are differences between working 'in alignment with' and being 'directed by' Government, adding that 'these subtleties can easily be lost' (2007:11).

Bailey (2007) argues that by pursuing more active cultural diplomacy, the traditional arm's length principle will be threatened, echoing Wajid's uneasiness. Jenkins (2007) asserts that these diplomatic ambitions reflect a deeper crisis of legitimacy in museums, which compromises artistic and intellectual integrity. She believes that this is another instance of the arts being geared towards social and political outcomes, which she perceives as widespread. In a later article, Jenkins urges artists to 'resist this propagandist agenda' (2009:online), describing the cultural sector as 'astonishingly uncritical about this sorry picture even though artists are being instructed to act as propagandists' (2009:online).

Jenkins is a useful example to demonstrate the emotive nature of the debate. Phrases such as 'astonishingly uncritical', 'sorry picture' and 'as far as I'm concerned' (2009:online), show disapproval and invalidate any sense of an academic argument. Jenkins' writing is contentious, forewarning a 'subservient relationship' (2009:online), the constraints of 'political diktat' (2007:30) and 'prescriptive' (2009:online) policies. She asserts that the Demos report has simply instructed artists on this matter and, in turn, they have accepted this role. A comparable argument is expressed in a similar language by Fox, who misinterprets the two-way argument, instead referring to it as a subservient 'trap' (2007:4). These views contrast with the Demos report, which states that some arts organisations have 'no idea of FCO priorities, even when they are contributing to them' (2007:49). This implies both a lack of knowledge and awareness,

and a lack of prescription. To what extent the DCMS's international agenda is instrumental, prescriptive and directive remains to be uncovered and will become clear through the empirical work in Chapters Four and Five. Moreover, the articles by Jenkins and the Demos report present opposing views, potentially signalling a further discrepancy between theory and practice.

Jenkins directly interprets cultural diplomacy as propaganda, accusing the Demos report of being an ineffective strategy for international relations and claiming that cultural diplomacy leads to 'bad art and bad politics' (2009). She brands it:

A masterclass in stupidity that is politically naive and professionally irresponsible for the cultural sector. It assumes that all government policy is automatically a good thing. It suggests that following the decisions of those in power is the right thing to do (2007:30)

The Demos report and the articles by Jenkins present antithetical views of cultural diplomacy, yet make the same error. Whilst the careful crafting of the Demos report only heightens the flippancy of Jenkins' moral diatribes, it has its own logical and empirical failures.

A particular point of interest is the motivation behind the Demos research. Jenkins (2007) somewhat casually, mentions that a number of cultural organisations were involved but does not comment further. The Demos research thanks a number of individuals from cultural organisations in its acknowledgments section and later in the report, lists numerous national cultural organisations as 'partners' (2007:16), yet it does not make the exact involvement of these organisations and individuals explicit. However, these organisations were involved on some level and, therefore, they are essentially advocating instrumentalism. The opposition to instrumentalism implied by the literature may not be correct. In this example, the organisations have assisted in the proposal of a new instrumental policy, a key point which forms the main thrust of this research.

Wajid's article, whilst seemingly opposed to cultural diplomacy, is more balanced. She cites a policy adviser at the British Museum, who comments that the arts can continue

their international work relatively unhindered, whilst also achieving diplomatic objectives. The adviser states: 'In order to do things internationally we need government resources' (2007:11).

A commentary on cultural diplomacy in Australia also presents a more favourable picture, with the government, international politics, global neighbours, arts organisations and artists all benefiting. It asks 'shouldn't we all be pleased with this outcome?' (Manton, 2000:25). Whether policies can simultaneously deliver political objectives and organisational goals is unclear as this point has not been covered by the published work. This question warrants further investigation and will receive attention in this study.

Journalist Simon Jenkins takes a different stance, dismissing more formal political diplomacy in his article about the V&A's cultural activity in Syria. He states: 'This exhibition is worth a hundred Milibands' (2008:41). This article argues for the power of the arts but pitches cultural and political diplomacy against each other, comparing David Miliband's trip to Damascus on a formal diplomatic mission with a ceramics exhibition. Jenkins argues that 'cultural diplomacy should be taking the lead over politics' (2008:41) for its soft approach, rather than a political combination of 'hectoring', 'getting cross' and 'schmoozing' (2008:41). Jenkins creates an unnecessary opposition between culture and politics through stereotypical assumptions about formal diplomacy.

One area that is not discussed by the professional and mainstream press is that of evaluation, a major part of the debate on instrumental policies. If causation is near impossible to establish at a community level, then ascertaining whether the perceptions of entire nations have changed, appears unfeasible. Mark (2010) sees this difficulty as a barrier to cultural diplomacy attracting funding. This issue of evaluation is broached but not resolved by the Demos report. When discussing a cultural diplomacy initiative in France, it comments, 'it is difficult to judge the precise impact' (2007:74) and 'it was hoped that the young people that attended would start to associate the UK with creativity' (2007:79). It is left vague as there is no way to properly address it. Still, the report persists in its argument for a more coordinated approach to cultural

diplomacy. This is another instance which illustrates that proving efficacy has little bearing on advocating cultural policy. What appears more important is the policy rhetoric, essentially, the aspirational intent. Despite the lack of evidence of impact, the academic texts are unrelenting in advocating cultural relations for its political merits. Whilst different from the philosophical and emotive nature of the instrumentalism commentary, it is similarly moral and sentimental, suggesting that cultural relations, whatever the definition is taken to be, is 'good' and 'right'. This is a further instance of the importance of rhetoric in policy-making.

Similarly to the social inclusion instrumentalism debate, the discourse on cultural diplomacy divides opinion. The commentary in both areas lacks an empirical approach and favours a more philosophical engagement. There are also key differences between the two debates. The academic work on cultural diplomacy does not sit comfortably alongside the articles from the mainstream and professional press, in contrast to the social inclusion discussion, in which a similar line of argument was employed. In addition, there is an absence of interest in cultural diplomacy as an instrumental policy from a scholarly perspective, an omission which this research addresses.

Conclusions and Further Research

This chapter has reviewed the published literature on cultural diplomacy and instrumental cultural policies. Despite little overlap between the two strands, they draw upon a single argument - that instrumental policies are detrimental to artists, cultural organisations and art itself. The academic work focuses on the damaging effects of instrumentalism on organisations, whilst the professional press centres on its negative impact on art and artists. They are not informed by and do not reference one another.

The published work is based on philosophical views, rather than underpinned by methodological frameworks and empirical findings. A few papers are based on empirical data but these are not explicit about their methods. This may suggest a broader eschewal of empirical work. It is ironic that the academic work is not underpinned by a methodological framework or based on arguments founded on empirical data. There is a further irony in that much of the discussion of

instrumentalism is a critique of methodological problems. The thesis will consider why the discussion focuses on philosophical and moral viewpoints, rather than being empirically grounded. It will explore the wider evasion of empirical research and whether there is a lack of methodological frameworks within cultural policy studies. This review highlights the need for an empirical research project supported by a clear methodological framework which explicitly reports its processes. This thesis aims to furnish this requirement.

The lack of an empirical foundation has wider implications for the accuracy and credibility of cultural policy research. Regarding accuracy, this chapter consistently identified a divide between theory and practice. This thesis sets out to investigate the extent of this fragmentation and its significance for research, especially analysing the relationship between Government and the cultural sector. With regards to cultural diplomacy, arts organisations were involved in the Demos research, which argued for a greater alignment with Government objectives. Further investigation is required to ascertain how instrumental policies and cultural diplomacy are viewed, even exploited, by those within the sector. The style, content and tone of the academic and professional literature on instrumentalism both propagates and perpetuates a divide between Government and the cultural sector. The full extent of this fissure will be examined in this study, which further seeks to address what impact this has on policy and its making.

Regarding credibility, there is an ongoing debate within cultural policy research which centres on scholarly findings and conclusions not feeding into the formal policy-making process. If research is based on personal belief and not evidence, this both lessens the credibility of the work and potentially leads to inaccuracies, therefore impacting upon how the work is viewed and reducing the probability of it being taken forward. However, this has not been the case for Matarasso's research. Despite this study being widely discredited by academics, the author's contribution is still referred to in policy-making circles and it has enhanced Matarasso's personal credibility. This anomaly could also be explained through the notion of rhetoric and its role within cultural policy.

Likewise, the Demos research, which presented a compelling case for the role of the

arts within diplomatic relations, is also rhetorically based. A further example of the importance of rhetoric is the inconsistency in the adoption of instrumental arguments. The Government praises instrumentalism and continues to implement such policies, which are based on nineteenth century doctrines (Bennett, 1995), yet has no evidence of their effectiveness. The sector resists instrumental policies in principle, but argues for them when threatened. In this sense, instrumental cultural policies can be seen as a strategy, a tool, a weapon and, ultimately, as a means of protection. This was shown to be common practice through all levels of Government. The notion of rhetoric is a recurring theme and signals an area that merits further investigation. This study will examine the role of rhetoric within cultural policy and will demonstrate its importance in the formulation and communication of a new policy. Furthermore, it will investigate why the academic debate has failed to grasp the nuances within the instrumental debate.

As shown through the discussions on instrumentalism and cultural diplomacy, there is a lack of consensus concerning terminology and definitions. The terms have arisen from academic debate and appear to be scholarly constructions. As can be observed from the limited debate on cultural diplomacy so far, these formal definitions are not used rigidly. Similarly, the instrumental versus intrinsic debate showed a lack of agreement in the formal delineations of the concepts. There may be multiple interpretations of the key terms which differ both *between* and *within* theory and practice. This research will explore the extent of this lack of consensus and will consider what implications this has on the formulation and implementation of policy.

In relation to the terminology surrounding cultural diplomacy, Mitchell proposes the idea of a continuum, which is helpful. It also offers a possible alternative to the binary divide which frames the discussion on instrumentalism. If the intrinsic/instrumental dichotomy was viewed as a scale, rather than a fixed and mutually exclusive categorisation, this could help to advance the debate. For example, instead of classifying an activity as either 'instrumental' or 'intrinsic', the question would be 'to what extent is something instrumental or intrinsic?' This would allow for more exploration of the balance between intrinsic and instrumental. However, whilst it would also allow for different interpretations of the concepts, the same problems

would be encountered due to arbitrary decision-making, which, in turn, would lead to a lack of consensus once more.

Despite the wealth of material on instrumentalism and social inclusion within the academic sphere, cultural policy scholars have shown little interest in cultural diplomacy, both generally and from an instrumental perspective. This research will consider why it has not received attention in cultural policy studies. The subject was discussed a little in the broadsheet and professional press. This literature conflated cultural diplomacy and instrumental policy which appears, at least partially, to have been accepted by a number of cultural organisations, as several of them were involved in the Demos research, which advocated extending the role of the arts within international relations. This raises questions as to how cultural diplomacy is viewed by those within the sector. More specifically, this thesis will scrutinise the impact of the Demos report on the formulation of a new instrumental policy and, more importantly, what role the cultural organisations played in this. Moreover, to what extent this burgeoning policy is instrumental, prescriptive and directive is yet to be explored.

Instrumentality provokes highly emotive, moral and philosophical responses. The Demos report perhaps triggered a strong, immediate response because cultural diplomacy is a politically explicit term. Despite the compatibility of cultural diplomacy with politics, there is no evidence of the use of the arts as a tool of propaganda or any detrimental impact on the arts. However, this did not limit the criticism of Government, Demos and the cultural organisations themselves. The nature of cultural diplomacy as a new instrumental policy and its effects remain to be ascertained. Certainly, there are suggestions that this may signal a different kind of instrumentalism, as cultural organisations are involved from the very beginning. The notion of a new interpretation of instrumentalism, or variations in its form, is the investigative foundation and thrust of this research.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter provides a narrative account of the empirical process, from the conception of ideas and practical decision-making to the collation of the data and its systematic analysis. It demonstrates an engagement with the methodological principles through a combination of standard literature and methods training. It also shows a flexible approach to encountering various problems and details the steps taken to resolve these issues.

This study involved two data sets. The first comprised three policy documents, which were analysed using thematic analysis, a method derived from grounded theory. Fifteen interviews formed the second data set, subjected to the same analytical process.

In the initial scoping of this study, I soon became aware of the Government's prioritisation of internationalism through the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's *International Strategy* and its connection with the activities of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Upon discovering this text, I also came across a number of similar documents produced by other organisations. Since it was the preliminary desk research that uncovered the documents, analysing a sample of these formed the starting point of the research. I was interested in finding out why they were written, who authored them, what they were used for and how they were communicated with the cultural sector. Documentary research is less prominent as a qualitative method (Scott, 1990; MacDonald, 2008) but more recently, greater attention has been paid to the status of documents (Bryman, 2008).

As the documents would not reveal how the policy worked in practice, interviews were also conducted. I wanted to relate the written format of policy with the accounts of specialists - policy-makers, arts professionals and artists - working in the cultural sector. I sought to obtain 'thick' (Geertz, 1973:26) and rich descriptions in the respondents' own words of how the international policy worked. Thick descriptions show 'different and complex facets of particular phenomena', generating a 'richness of

perception' (Holliday, 2002:78). Richards stresses the importance of detail in obtaining thick data: 'thick description contains detail of recall and imagery, interpretative comment and contextual knowledge, wherever it is appropriate' (2005:51).

In qualitative research, interviews are 'the universal mode of systematic enquiry' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:1). An interview is essentially a conversation with a purpose (Burgess, 1984) but with the structure determined by the interviewer (Kvale, 2007), it cannot be a neutral tool (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Interviews were an appropriate choice as I sought to ascertain personal views, interpretations, experiences and knowledge. Interviews permit in-depth exploration of a subject with those who have had relevant experience (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). As Huberman and Miles explain, interviews are 'concerted efforts to collect actively assembled interpretations of experience that address particular research agendas' (2002:50). I was interested in 'accessing experiences' (Kvale, 2007:xi) and semi-structured interviews would capture accounts of real experiences, conveying these from the perspective of the participants. More specifically, I wanted to find out how those within the cultural sector experienced the policy, why the policy had emerged, whether it was in response to a stimulus, what its purpose was, how its conception related to the wider political context, the process through which it was developed, whether it was integrated with other policies, its level of prescription, whether the cultural sector was consulted in its conception, how it was implemented, perceived and monitored, and what impact it was having.

Questionnaires were not appropriate as they would not uncover the experiential accounts that I was seeking. They reduce the responses to predetermined categories (Smith, 1995) and would not provide the 'depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness' (Mason, 2002:65) that I was looking for. Focus groups would have provided limitations as fewer questions can be asked due to a higher number of participants (Robson, 2002) and the group dynamics may lead to some people contributing less than others. This has potential ramifications as a more generalised view may be obtained that does not necessarily represent all of those in the group and simultaneously, some opinions and beliefs may not be obtained at all.

Through selecting document analysis and interviews, multiple methods were used to collect data. By triangulating the data collection, the probability of an 'accurate and reliable theory' (Huberman and Miles, 2002:19) would be increased, resulting in a 'stronger substantiation of constructs and hypotheses' (Huberman and Miles, 2002:14).

The following sections detail the sampling strategy applied to the documents and the interviews, and the collection and analysis of the data. In the final part of this chapter, there is a discussion of reliability and validity, and a number of methodological reflections are offered.

The Sample - Documents

Mason describes sampling as 'principles and procedures used to identify, choose and gain access to relevant data sources' (2002:120). Flick refers to the process of sampling documents as constructing a 'corpus' (2009:258). Wolff (2004) emphasises that documents should not be taken at face value since they represent a version of reality constructed for specific purposes. Previously, there has been an emphasis within the social sciences, on conceptualising documents as inert objects studied for their content, rather than seeing them as having specific functions and constructing versions of reality. Documents have been viewed 'primarily as containers – things to be read, understood, and categorized' (Prior, 2008:821), as opposed to 'active agents in the world ... as a key component of dynamic networks' (Prior, 2008:821). Scott (1990) likens documents to artefacts. Prior goes further, arguing that documents are 'informants' (2008:822). MacDonald echoes this, comparing documents to an untrustworthy witness that must be 'cross-examined and its motives assessed' (2008:286).

Atkinson and Coffey urge researchers to pay attention to the forms and functions of documents, stressing that they 'are not neutral, transparent reflections of organisational or occupational life. They actively construct the very organisations they purport to describe. Analysis therefore needs to focus on 'how organisational realities are (re)produced through textual conventions' (2011:77). They go on: 'we cannot treat records - however 'official' – as firm evidence of what they report' (2011:79).

MacDonald (2008) emphasises that documents tell us about the values, interests and

purposes of those who produce them. Scott (1990) differentiates between literal and hermeneutic meaning. This notion of documents being 'organisational constructions' is shared by a number of writers (Bloomfield and Vurdabakis, 1994; Mason, 2002; Prior, 2003; Wolff, 2004; Silverman, 1993). Mason states:

Documents ... are constructed in particular contexts, by particular people, with particular purposes, and with consequences – intended and unintended ... it is unlikely that you can 'read' all of this information from the document alone, because it does not display 'the facts' about itself in this way (2002:110)

Prior discusses the dynamic relationship between the authors and readers of documents, emphasising, 'those who use and consume documents are not merely passive actors in the communication process, but also active in the production process itself' (2003:16). Scott argues that documents 'do not speak for themselves' (1990:11). Atkinson and Coffey assert that documents are written with an actual or implied audience in mind. In this way, they are 'recipient designed' (2011:85). Prior (2003) goes beyond this, claiming that audiences have a role in the authorship of documents.

In this study, I used purposeful sampling to select three documents for examination. These were the DCMS's *International Strategy*, Arts Council England's *International Policy* (hereafter ACE) and the British Museum's *International Strategy*. Initially, it was intended to look solely at the DCMS document. As it was entitled a 'strategy', I assumed that it would be some kind of action plan, providing the clearest picture of the policy and its dissemination from Government down to the cultural sector.

During this early analysis, I was repeatedly struck by how little the document resembled an actual strategy. I was unable to envisage how it would translate into operational detail. I remained confused about how 'internationalism' was undertaken in practice. The basics of the strategy such as its purpose, audience, implementation, authorship and impact were unclear. It was decided that confining the analysis to one document would be insufficient and undertaking another analysis of a different document might answer some of these fundamental questions.

ACE's *International Policy* was the next document selected for analysis on the assumption that it would provide a clearer picture of the implementation of the DCMS's strategy. As ACE is responsible for implementing Governmental policies and makes decisions about which arts organisations and individuals to financially support, I wanted to ascertain how the strategy filtered through to the cultural sector.

The findings and conclusions from the second analysis were almost identical to the previous one. Further confirmation was sought from a third document examination. It was logical to focus on an organisational strategy. This meant that the sample comprised a document produced by the Government, that is, what was taken to be the policy-maker; another that represented the 'implementer' of the policy, that is, ACE and finally, an organisation that was a 'recipient' of the funding which would undertake the work, as directed by the policy. The idea underpinning the selection of these documents and the sequence of their analysis was based, somewhat naively, on a rational model of policy-making.

The final document selected for analysis was the British Museum's *International Strategy*. This was chosen as the museum leads the way in international work. It is global in its outlook and is 'at the vanguard of internationalism' (Bailey, 2007:26). Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum, is the DCMS's first 'Cultural Ambassador', a post which aims to develop ties with other countries. The institution is also one of the few organisations to have a fully developed international strategy document.

Despite many cultural organisations being internationally active, few have a dedicated international strategy. The documents selected were the only sources that solely addressed internationalism. Others were considered, such as annual reports. Whilst these contained some information on international practice, they also included a large amount of extraneous detail. One approach may have been to select the particular portions of the text that were pertinent, but this seemed too arbitrary. It was vital for the documents to be comparable in some way and this selection offered a degree of parity, therefore enabling conclusions to be drawn across the data set.

The Sample – Interviews

Fifteen people were interviewed from three distinct groups, again reflecting the rational view of policy-making. The first group comprised the ‘authors’ of the policies, assumed to be the policy-makers such as Government officials, senior strategists and civil servants. The second group were the cultural practitioners employed within galleries and museums in a variety of professional roles including directors, curators and administrators. The final group of interviewees were the ‘recipients’, whose work would, in some way, be directed and funded by the policy such as independent artists and curators. In retrospect, these categories are flawed, as ‘recipients’ could also be the cultural institutions themselves.

A minimum of five people from each group was required in order for the sample to be sufficiently generalisable. This term refers to the extent to which the findings can be more generally applicable outside of the specific case that is being studied (Robson, 2002). However, Kvale argues that interview findings can never be generalisable, as they involve too few subjects. Instead, he discusses the ‘transferability of knowledge from one situation to another’ (2007:87). Mason asserts that the sample size ‘should help you to understand ... whatever you are interested in, rather than to represent a population’ (2001:135). Silverman supports this, claiming that ‘the aim is not so much to create empirical generalizations through large representative samples, but to develop theory’ (2005:195). This is discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

The fifteen interviewees were selected according to a theoretical sampling framework, a technique originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and later modified by Strauss (1987), and Strauss and Corbin (1990). However, qualitative researchers now employ all of these variations (Mason, 2002). Theoretical sampling means selecting people to study on the basis of their relevance to the research (Mason, 2002). Essentially, it involves choosing respondents that have characteristics that help to develop an emerging theory (Seale and Filmer, 1998). Theoretical sampling ‘focuses efforts on theoretically useful cases – i.e. those that replicate or extend theory by filling conceptual categories’ (Huberman and Miles, 2002:7). This means that sampling is an ongoing activity and the collection and analysis of the data happens concurrently, which then informs the ensuing sample. In this study, the first six interviewees were

confirmed and the data that was gathered informed the selection of the following six, which in turn led to the final three participants being chosen.

The first six interviewees represented a broad spectrum of professionals. A range of factors were considered including the need for a range of viewpoints – policy-makers, those who implement policy and the recipients of the policy funding. Other factors in selecting the initial six interviewees included accessing participants with a variety of professional roles and remits, and a depth of experience. I also considered having a good geographical spread and interviewing individuals from a range of organisations, from a Government department and an arts development agency through to a leading national museum and a regional gallery. The first six participants to be interviewed also included two artists, who were entirely independent and not affiliated to any institution.

Data Collection – Documents

The data collection for the documents was straightforward. Those of the DCMS and ACE were readily identifiable and accessible, as they were freely downloadable from the respective websites. The British Museum's document was obtained by contacting the organisation directly. The confidential document was made available for academic purposes. Scott (1990) refers to this type of document as 'restricted', as it is only available under specified conditions through the permission of insiders. Due to the DCMS and ACE's documents being available electronically from the websites, and the British Museum's document being obtained directly from the organisation, there was no requirement to establish authenticity (Burgess, 1984; Scott, 1990; MacDonald, 2008).

Data Collection – Interviews

Despite planning for up to twenty interviews, in the end I conducted fifteen as theoretical saturation had been achieved. Theoretical saturation is the point at which incremental learning is minimal because the researcher is observing familiar phenomena (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). 'Phenomena' is a term referring to 'central ideas represented as concepts' (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:101). Charmaz specifies theoretical saturation as the point 'when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new

theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories' (2006:113). Strauss and Corbin claim that until all categories are saturated, 'the theory will be unevenly developed' and lack 'density and precision' (1998:212). By 'density', they refer to the identification of all the salient properties and dimensions, 'thereby building in variation ... increasing the explanatory power of the theory' (1998:158). Ezzy adds that in order to identify saturation, researchers must be 'analysing their data as they are collecting it' (2002:75). In my data collection, saturation occurred very early in the process. Methodological texts advise not to add any more cases when this point has been reached (Huberman and Miles, 2002). However, I persevered with the predefined number to ensure that an adequate sample size and volume of data was collected.

These in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews formed the second phase of the data collection. They were undertaken over a six month period, with roughly two or three interviews per month.

Planning the interviews, also known as 'thematizing' (Kvale, 2007), took a great deal of time and attention. Thematizing entails clarifying the purpose and theme of the study, and developing a conceptual and theoretical understanding of the subject (Kvale, 2007). This process involves generating questions and reflecting on their substance, scope, style and sequence (Mason, 2002). Frequent revisions are required to ensure that the questions are unambiguous, correctly ordered and of the appropriate tone (Smith, 1995). The interview guide covered three predefined categories – experience of working internationally, knowledge of the international documents and opinions on cultural diplomacy. Open questions were created for each category with the objective of encouraging and allowing the participants to talk freely about their experience and understanding. More general, introductory questions were used to begin the interview, a technique known as 'funnelling' (Smith, 1995). I was also mindful of 'specificity' in order to ensure that participants went beyond general statements (Flick, 2009).

A pilot study was conducted to test the relevance, clarity and appropriateness of the questions. I chose to interview an artist who had extensive experience of working internationally, most recently, as the war artist in Afghanistan. In retrospect, this may

have been an error as the highly emotive nature of the subject matter naturally dominated the discussion. Nevertheless, it yielded thick and rich data and was invaluable for sharpening the questions and evaluating my approach.

In order to maintain a balanced view, I scheduled the interviews to include a representative from each group in turn, although there was no particular order. Some questions were for all interviewees, whilst others were specific to each group. The shared questions allowed me to compare across the interviews and the specific questions were designed to elicit specialist information. The interview guide acted as a loose script. Examples of these can be found in Appendix One.

Due to the character of semi-structured interviews, I was often working iteratively, moving between the sections as I reacted to the interviewees' responses. Mason (2002) notes the skill needed for interviewers to make quick connections between relevant points. As the interviews progressed, the respondents often answered several questions at once, which I then probed to obtain more detail. Sometimes, I simply requested more information or asked for elaboration. Another method used was to reiterate the answer but pose it as a question. Other techniques included allowing a pause and giving non-verbal cues as encouragement. King and Horrocks differentiate between probes and prompts, the latter defined as an intervention by the researcher to clarify the information that they are seeking. The writers state that prompts are usually used when the interviewee expresses 'uncertainty or incomprehension' (2010:40) about the question. I modified the interviews to reflect on prominent themes. This involved asking pertinent questions, and prompting and probing in a way that did not influence the response. Huberman and Miles explain the interviewing process:

The active interviewer sets the general parameters for responses, constraining as well as provoking answers that are germane to the researcher's interest. He or she does not tell respondents what to say, but offers them pertinent ways of conceptualising issues and making connections ... it is the active interviewer's job to direct and harness the respondent's constructed storytelling to the research task at hand (2002:39)

The open structure permitted each respondent to pursue particular thoughts or ideas and to move into new areas or topics of specific interest to them. At times these were relevant to the topic but sometimes the comments were tangential and the interviewee had to be steered back to the subject.

During some interviews, I also used an aide-mémoire to help me to remember all the necessary points, as well as practical details such as obtaining the completed consent form. This was particularly useful in certain interviews. For example, one interviewee had worked for the Government as an adviser twice in her career, as well as having extensive experience as a cultural practitioner at a senior level. This depth of experience meant that there was a lot to cover in the interview. An aide-mémoire helped to ensure that the important points were not forgotten.

The interviews were conducted at the workplaces of the participants, for their comfort and convenience. Each interview was recorded using a digital sound recorder and the raw data was kept in audio format as well as being subsequently transcribed for analysis. Significant observations from the interviews were also noted by hand, including, for example, non-verbal communication and lengthy pauses.

My own interviewing technique was crucial. I was continuously refining and improving it throughout the collection of data. Each interview began with a succinct 'briefing' (Kvale, 2007), in which I defined the project and the purpose of the interview, and gave the participant an opportunity to ask questions. I consciously observed a number of principles when engaged in interviewing, for example, being attentive, remaining quiet, listening intently and actively, and not interrupting. Converse and Schuman (1974) note the pressures of conducting neutral enquiry. I attempted to communicate in a neutral, non-judgmental way, showing respect for the interviewee and the substance of their answers. If the question was directed back at me, I attempted to not give a personal response or offer my own thoughts. When there was a pause, I endeavoured not to feel awkward or fill the silence, instead smiling or nodding to encourage the participant. Where the response had reached a natural pause or the respondent had completed their answer, I often probed for elaboration, summarising or paraphrasing the response to try to elicit further detail. Sometimes it was appropriate to move

directly onto the next question. Still, I strived, as far as possible, for a 'conversation-like' approach. Each interview ended with a 'debriefing' (Kvale, 2007), where the interviewee was offered another opportunity to ask questions or feedback about the interview experience. I transcribed the interviews myself which was also useful in critiquing my own performance and interviewing style.

I considered a number of ethical issues within the research design. Ethics are described by Edwards and Mauthner as: 'the morality of human conduct ... the moral deliberation, choice and accountability on the part of researchers throughout the research process' (2002:16). In this study, ethics were involved in obtaining informed consent from the interviewees, gaining special access to participants, protecting confidentiality where necessary, treating all interviewees equally, considering the consequences of the research and what impact this may have on the participants and cooperating with interviewees who requested permission to check their quotations and transcripts. Mauthner *et al* explain that when interviewing, ethical issues arise due to the complexities of 'researching private lives and placing accounts in the public arena' (2002:1).

It was essential to acquire approval to use the data obtained from the interviews. Each interviewee completed a consent form, which was sent in advance to provide adequate time for the participants to digest the information and ask any necessary questions. It was important that the interviewees were fully aware of what the study was about, how I intended to use the data, that they could withdraw at any time and who would have access to the material. The consent form comprised a page of information about the research and included a section on specific questions that required a 'yes' or 'no' response. These direct questions were designed to impart key information whilst eliminating ambiguity regarding the role and involvement of the interviewee. This is complicated due to the nature of exploratory interviews. I described the study as it was at that specific point in time but I was unsure how the research would proceed after the data collection. However, I endeavoured to provide an accurate description. This difficulty is acknowledged by Mason, who emphasises the duty and responsibility of the interviewer 'to engage in a reflexive and sensitive moral research practice' (2002:82). An example of the consent form can be found in Appendix One.

Most interviewees had signed the consent form prior to the interview. A few had particular stipulations. For example, some gave permission to be quoted verbatim with the proviso that they could check the individual quotes and the context that they were to be used in. Another requirement was that they would agree to be named after the interview, when they could make a more informed decision based on the direction that the discussion took.

Data Analysis – Documents and Interviews

The data collected from the documents and interviews were both analysed using thematic analysis. Before moving onto a detailed discussion of this process, it is important to note that this technique involves the overlapping of the data collection and analysis. The separate sections concerning data collection and analysis in this chapter suggest that these phases are distinct. However, data that is collected later in the process is informed by the analysis of data that is collected earlier.

The analysis began with the strategy and policy documents. Gray emphasises the importance of starting from a position informed by methodology and having clarity on ‘what’ is being analysed ‘and why’ (1996:215). However, ascertaining an appropriate methodological technique for the examination of the documents was not easy. There was a striking absence of any established method for analysing cultural policy documents. Cultural policy research which claims to conduct document analysis omits empirical and methodological detail, so I contacted a selection of authors directly to enquire about their methods. This led to the revelation from one academic that: ‘Generally, cultural policy people don’t use analytical frameworks - but I think they should’ (Newman, 2008. pers. comm).

Without methodological guidelines from previous studies, a framework had to be developed *a priori*. In selecting suitable methodological tools, Woddis advocates drawing upon various disciplines, to acquire the appropriate methods:

Cultural policy research is a relatively young field of study, straddling a number of disciplines. It does not yet (and given its multi-disciplinary nature and its growing scope, may never) have a set path of research method. Its researchers are thus able

to draw on a range of different techniques and approaches, and to combine them in a variety of ways (2005:17)

This viewpoint is shared by Kawashima (1999), who describes cultural policy research as: 'a field of study which is capable of accommodating various academic disciplines' (cited in Woddis, 2005:19). Despite these exhortations, cultural policy researchers appear reluctant to look beyond cultural studies. As a field, cultural studies is itself interdisciplinary and holds no methodological 'position'. Therefore, applicable frameworks in this area do not appear to be established.

I therefore looked to other policy areas for possible solutions, such as welfare and housing, where document analysis methods may have been more established or developed. However, this proved unsuccessful as the other disciplines focused on methods which were deemed unsuitable. For example, content analysis was a possibility. Essentially a counting exercise, content analysis was thought to be inappropriate as it is designed to identify the superficial features of large corpuses of material. Some argue that the method 'simply measures frequency' (Slater, 1998:235) and involves 'little more than enumerating the frequency with which certain words, items or categories appear in a text' (Prior, 2003:21). A more in-depth approach was required. Discourse analysis was also considered but had several drawbacks for this project. Firstly, it is not designed for large amounts of text and so it was not deemed viable for use on fifteen to twenty interview transcripts. Secondly, it requires a prior grounding in linguistics and sociological analysis. Slater comments that discourse analysis is a 'difficult method to pin down' (1998:246). Robson claims that there is 'little agreement as to its usage' (2002:365) and Bryman echoes this when he notes that 'there is no one version' (2008:500) of the method. These multiple interpretations, combined with the absence of practical guidelines in utilising the method, led to a lack of confidence in pursuing discourse analysis as a tool.

Therefore, these other areas of public policy did not yield an appropriate method and the general reading of methodological texts continued. Thematic analysis was later discovered and was selected as the method for the document analysis. It would subsequently be used on the interview data as well, although this was unknown at this

stage. Thematic analysis involves identifying prominent themes within a data set and enables a complex analysis of their meaning in context. It particularly appealed to me as it is 'systematic, careful, non-pre-emptive and reflective' (Jones, 1985:69). I was looking for a method that would allow me to identify and analyse the key messages and important themes within the document, and thematic analysis offered this.

When analysing the interview transcripts, I made an effort to avoid being influenced by the document analysis findings. I was assisted by the timescale of the research, as there were six months between the document analysis and the interviews. It took a further six months to complete the interview data collection. The demands of doctoral research mean that certain elements of the study have to be compartmentalised to shift the focus at the appropriate points. Therefore, I was unable to keep in mind all of the information and ideas simultaneously. However, the analytical techniques used in the interview analysis were developed from the document analysis phase.

Thematic Analysis

An engagement with the material on thematic analysis reveals a lack of consensus about both procedures and terms. This is recognised by a number of writers such as King and Horrocks (2010), who note the varying styles of thematic analysis and Gibbs, who states that writers 'use a variety of terms to talk about codes and coding' (2007:39). Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that the method is poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged. Aronson (1994) notes the paucity of literature outlining the practical process of the method. Joffe and Yardley comment on the 'few published guides concerning how to carry out thematic analysis' and its use in published studies without a 'clear report of the specific techniques' (2004:58). Braun and Clarke (2006) aim to resolve this issue by providing an account of the method in response to 'the absence of a paper which adequately outlines the theory, application and evaluation of thematic analysis' (2006:77). It also remains unclear how thematic analysis can be extracted from its origins in grounded theory.

The highly practical account of thematic analysis by psychologists Braun and Clarke (2006) was helpful in providing clear guidelines for rigorous analysis. Braun and Clarke

attempt to counter the confusion in this area by aiming to ensure that the teaching, sharing and learning of thematic analysis is clear. They state:

the skills needed for qualitative analyses of all types need to be learned ... by not discussing the 'how to' of analysis, we keep certain methods mysterious (and thus elitist). Instead, if we want to make methods democratic and accessible - and indeed, to make qualitative research of all forms more understandable to those not trained in the methods, and arguably thus more popular - we need to provide concrete advice on how to actually do it (2006:98)

Thematic analysis involves identifying concepts, interrelated ideas, patterns and relationships, and then creating conceptual tools to classify and understand the data.

Braun and Clarke define thematic analysis as:

A method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data in (rich) detail. However, it frequently goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (2006:79)

The researcher takes an active role in identifying the themes in an analysis which is data-driven (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Strauss and Corbin note the importance of allowing the data to 'speak' (1998:59). However, Joffe and Yardley argue that no analysis 'can be entirely inductive or data driven, since the researcher's knowledge and preconceptions will inevitably influence the identification of themes' (2004:58). Jones similarly argues that data is not 'objectively "there" waiting to be discovered' (1985:58). However, patterns of meaning are essentially identified by searching the data without preconceived ideas of what these might be.

Grounded Theory

Before moving onto a more detailed discussion of the analytic process, it is important to locate the method within the broader context of grounded theory. Bryman describes grounded theory as 'the most widely used methodology for conducting qualitative analysis' (2008:541), claiming it 'the most frequently cited approach' (2008:539).

Grounded theory was developed by Glaser and Strauss, who published the seminal text *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* in 1967, a book

which 'pioneered a qualitative research movement in the social sciences' (Kvale, 2007:6). The researchers aimed to 'move qualitative inquiry beyond descriptive studies into the realm of explanatory theoretical frameworks, thereby providing abstract, conceptual understandings of the studied phenomena' (Charmaz, 2006:6).

After this publication, Glaser and Strauss disagreed on how to develop the methodology further, although a number of tenets have remained constant. Grounded theory continues to be contested in that there are variations in its application, which stem from these differences in academic opinion and direction. More specifically, the method has been interpreted, described and applied in a range of ways, based on the differing epistemological viewpoints of Glaser (1978, 1992) and Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) outline the defining principles of grounded theory as:

1. A simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis
2. A construction of analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses
3. The use of the constant comparative method, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis
4. The advancement of theory development during each step of data collection and analysis
5. The writing of memos to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps
6. Aiming a sampling strategy towards theory construction, not for population representativeness
7. Conducting the literature review *after* developing an independent analysis

(Charmaz, 2006)

More recent interpretations of grounded theory have been offered by Charmaz (2003, 2006), resulting in the emergence of three key schools of thought: 'Glaserian', 'Straussian' and 'Charmazian' (Hood, 2007). 'Glaserian' principles adhere to the original orthodox method; 'Straussian' processes advocate a modification of grounded theory based on an evolved set of technical procedures (through work with Corbin) and the

'Charmazian' approach advocates a more flexible style, whilst remaining true to the key tenets of grounded theory. For example, Glaser and Strauss's classic grounded theory (1967) defines the researcher as a scientific observer, detached from reality. Charmaz's view is that we are part of the world that we study and 'we *construct* our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices' (2006:10, emphasis in original). Whilst Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Glaser (1978) advise conducting the literature review after the data collection, so that the researcher is not tainted by the secondary material, Charmaz argues the inevitability of bringing existing knowledge into research. Gibbs supports this because 'no one starts with absolutely no ideas. The researcher is both an observer of the social world and part of that same world' (2007:45).

Whilst these theoretical discussions are key to understanding the method, the extensive debate within the field about what grounded theory is and what its practical application involves, remains largely unresolved. Buckley and Waring (2009) note the under developed literature in this area. Furthermore, Bradley (2010) argues that studies purporting to use grounded theory are not explicit as to its application. Whilst Glaser and Strauss (1967) offer clear tenets as to what constitutes grounded theory, it is unclear how thematic analysis differs from grounded theory. Regardless of these delineations being indistinct, there are a number of shared principles.

Despite this nebulous area, grounded theory remains a 'systematic yet flexible methodology, designed to assist with the development of substantive, explanatory models grounded in relevant empirical data' (Hutchison *et al*, 2010:283). Charmaz views grounded theory as: 'a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions ... I emphasise flexible guidelines, not methodological rules, recipes and requirements' (2006:9).

This flexibility is helpful for researchers to navigate through the theoretical and methodological discussions, and find a way of applying the method that is suitable for specific projects.

Grounded theory is an inductive method, whereby data is collected and analysed to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves (Charmaz, 2006). The method is based around an iterative movement between the data collection and analysis. The analysis starts immediately upon obtaining the data. The implications of that analysis then shape the next steps in the data collection process. Although presented as a linear process, or a step-by-step procedure, as in the account of thematic analysis in this chapter, the analysis is iterative and reflexive (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). It does not follow a linear format because there is a wealth of interconnected thoughts and ideas to be investigated. Strauss and Corbin emphasise this 'interplay between researchers and data' (1998:13). Orona (1990) claims that the beauty and strength of the method is precisely that it is not linear but instead, it enables the emergence of ideas from the data in a process which facilitates introspection, intuition and rumination. This formulation captures the spirit of Glaser and Strauss's original method (1967). Glaser refers to it as 'ideational', as a 'sophisticated, careful method of idea manufacturing. The conceptual idea is its essence' (1978:7).

The Analytical Process

The strategy and policy documents were analysed first, with each document being taken in turn and treated as separate. Each document was handled in the same way. Therefore, the outcome of the first analysis did not inform subsequent analyses. The reason for this approach was because of the original intention to focus on one document only. Conversely, for the interview data, the analysis of each transcript informed the analysis of the next transcript, in line with grounded theory. This distinction is discussed later in this section.

The other difference in the analysis of the two data sets was that software was partially used for the interview material. This is known as 'computer-assisted qualitative data analysis' (CAQDAS). The software was used with the aim of adding analytical depth and increasing efficiency due to the high volume of data, exceeding 130,000 words, within this set. However, despite the large quantity of material, the software was not fully utilised, as is explained later.

Each interview was transcribed upon its immediate completion and each transcript was treated identically. Whilst this was time consuming and labour intensive, the advantage of doing my own transcription was that I became very familiar with the material and inevitably began to generate analytic ideas. I planned to use Silverman's transcription conventions (2005) but in practice, these seemed unnecessarily detailed for my purpose. Instead I opted for a straightforward verbatim transcription, noting any points of interest such as laughter or pauses, but omitting utterances such as 'ums' and 'ahs'. Since I was not undertaking discourse analysis, these were extraneous. However, noting pauses or laughter was relevant in fully understanding nuanced responses (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Kvale believes that 'to transcribe means to transform, to change from one form to another' (2007:93), warning against seeing transcription merely as an administrative task and emphasising it as an interpretative process in itself (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Gibbs, 2007).

The analyses began with thorough, repeated readings of the texts, a paragraph at a time. Prominent key words or phrases, recurring ideas and repeated patterns of meaning were noted. Initially, anything of interest was highlighted as having the potential for development. As the content became more familiar through this process, I began to formally 'code' the document manually by colour coding words and phrases, and noting fragmentary ideas. For each text, a number of codes were created. A list or compilation of these is referred to as a 'codebook' (Boyatzis, 1998:4). As the coding progresses, new codes are added to the codebook, whilst some are amended or combined, and others abandoned completely. The codebook 'sets up the potential for a systematic comparison between the set of texts one is analysing' (Joffe and Yardley, 2004:59) and allows standardised questions to be asked of the data. Examples of the codebooks can be found throughout the methodological workings in appendices two and three.

The process of coding facilitates the sorting and separating of data. It involves highlighting single words, lines of text, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs, in a process known as 'fracturing' (Jones, 1985:69). This offers a focused way of seeing the data (Charmaz, 2006), which is classified and labelled as belonging to a specific

category. Dey describes this as 'abstracting from the immense detail and complexity of our data those features which are most salient for our purpose' (1993:94).

Codes are the building blocks of theory (Glaser, 1978), hence they are derived from the data, rather than being predetermined prior to data collection. If the codes were pre-defined or standardised categories, the analysis would not capture, interpret and establish an emergent theory. Charmaz (2006) refers to the coding process as the 'pivotal link' between collecting data and developing a theory to explain these data. She states 'through coding, you *define* what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means' (2006:46, emphasis in original). In this sense, it is important to understand the coding process as more than simply a technical task (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

The process begins with the codes as broad and general categories. The initial coding of the data is undertaken 'in everyway [sic] possible' (Glaser, 1978:56). This is the process of 'breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:61), referred to as 'open coding' (Glaser, 1978). Multiple codes can be assigned to one portion of text. As the process continues, the codes should become as specific as possible to allow for the interpretation of complexity and subtlety within the data.

At this point, the structure of the codes is unclear and some of the initial codes may actually be overarching themes. However, it is important to code as extensively and accurately as possible to allow for subsequent conceptual development. Bazeley (2007) claims that the majority of categories will be generated during the coding of the first few texts. Nevertheless, it is essential throughout to remain open to the possibility of codes emerging at any point and that these may be very different, or contradictory to those identified at earlier stages (Boyatzis, 1998).

When the documents and interview transcripts had been coded for the first time, a very basic frequency count was undertaken to identify repeated words and phrases for potential refinement into themes. Bazeley (2007) recognises the purpose of this. It is also worth noting that frequency does not imply significance and a word or phrase

could convey meaning 'out of all proportion to its frequency' (Scott, 1990:32). I also devised my own additional methods to identify the early codes, for example, searching for collocations and using a thesaurus to seek out synonyms. This process resulted in generating approximately 50 codes for the DCMS document, 40 for the ACE text and 30 for the British Museum strategy.

For the documents, the process then moved onto conceptualising the codes, abstracting and refining them into themes. Strauss and Corbin explain:

In conceptualizing, we are abstracting. Data are broken down into discrete incidents, ideas, events, and acts and are then given a name that represents or stands for these (1998:105)

For the interview transcripts, the initial coding led to additional codes, so the texts were coded for a second time. I looked for more instances of the additional codes to ascertain whether they were specific to a particular interviewee or whether they were part of a broader pattern. This resulted in yet more codes and at this stage, over 70 codes had been generated.

At the end of the second coding of the interview transcripts, I laid the codebooks side by side. Seeing all fifteen coding sheets together and in their entirety was like looking at genetic blueprints or DNA sequences. This biological metaphor is appropriate, as the coding stage is essentially a process of deconstructing a phenomenon, reducing the data to its essential elements or building blocks and working out how they relate together to form a coherent whole. These basic components are then abstracted, conceptualised and developed into themes. This visual process clearly showed the most prevalent codes and helped me to identify how they were connected.

As this process continued and ideas developed, an ordering and structuring of the codes began to be formulated. They were further fractured, reconnected, recombined and broken down to form sub-categories or dimensions of the same theme. This process also allowed me to check the codes for accuracy. As thematic analysis is a continuous process of the generation of ideas and the subsequent reworking of them, it was inevitable that the coding continually requires modification (Boyatzis, 1998). At

this stage, I also checked for 'definitional drift' (Gibbs, 2007). This relates to ensuring that the material coded later is based exactly on the codes established earlier. Due to the time consuming and painstaking process of coding, it is inevitable that there is some degree of drift, that is, later data is coded slightly differently from the data coded at the start. Making comparisons and a constant alertness helped to ensure consistency.

During the lengthy and iterative coding process of the documents and interview transcripts, it was noted that some of the codes were actually overarching themes within the data. The initial codes had been generated from observations during the interviews, from the repeated readings of the documents and the individual transcripts, and from thoughts from my analytic note-taking, known as memo writing. At this stage, I noted down ideas about the structure, creating groupings of codes and considering possible hierarchies. This is the process of developing themes, with prospective interpretations constantly explored and modified.

For the interviews, I decided to go through the transcripts for a third time as saturation had not occurred. It is not only in data collection that saturation occurs. In the development of theory, coding and memo writing continues until saturation (Glaser, 1978). At this point in the analysis, I was unsure whether to continue with the manual process or transfer to the software. I was keen to identify further patterns and relationships to help with the formulation of a structure for the codes and to assist in thematising. I considered whether the software would offer an analytical depth that could not be achieved any further through the manual process. Due to my absorption in the data and the progress that was being made, I was reluctant to move to the analysis software. In the words of Richards, 'when coding gets underway, it has a momentum of its own' (2005:102). However, I had originally anticipated its usage and had undertaken a training course on NVivo, one of the most sophisticated software packages available for qualitative analysis.

It was thought that NVivo would be helpful in looking at patterns of codes, links between them, co-occurrences (Joffe and Yardley, 2004) and in further refinement through 'querying'. The query tool allows questions to be asked of the data (Bazeley,

2007), for example, asking how many times certain codes appear together may help in ascertaining theoretical connections. Querying aids the identification of patterns and relationships, generating more connections and enhancing what has already been discovered. Joffe and Yardley state that when used thoughtfully, software packages 'allow one to be highly systematic in a manner that is faithful to the data' (2004:66). To summarise, I aimed to use NVivo to provide further enrichment, develop layers of understanding, and add complexity and depth of meaning. As Richards says: 'the method is far easier, and far more powerful, and most importantly, you can do far more with it' (2005:148). Gibbs advocates using manual and computational methods of analysis, as well as a combination of both, stating: 'there is nothing to stop you moving, when you want to, from paper to the software' (2007:40).

All of the data, including the transcripts, the memos, codes and the coded text, required inputting into NVivo. In order to do this, a coding classification system and order had to be developed. This required decisions to be made about the structure of the codes. Interestingly, I turned yet again to a manual process of working. Gibbs (2007) reports that the manual method of working allows creativity, flexibility and ease of access, all of which are important in the early stages of analysis. I produced 'cut out' labels of each code, essentially pieces of card, which could be physically assembled in a variety of configurations. This enabled a dynamic activity, arranging and rearranging the labels in a process that was interspersed by the development of cognitive maps, which further informed the structuring and abstraction of the codes. Photographic documentation of this approach can be found in Appendix Three. Cognitive maps are visual devices that demonstrate relationships among concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Jones (1985) asserts they are a method of modelling the beliefs of the researcher in diagrammatic form. Strauss and Corbin (1998) emphasise that these diagrams should be analytical and conceptual, rather than descriptive. These web-like networks allow researchers to move from text to interpretation (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

The cognitive mapping exercises enabled the abstraction and development of the codes into themes, literally mapping out each code and their relationships to each other. They also led to understanding how the codes fed into the themes, and assist in

ordering and structuring the themes, showing the connections between them. The maps are essential as they facilitate working with concepts, rather than raw data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Through this process, central themes began emerging, which were ordered and developed into conceptual categories, broken down into sub-categories and reassembled again to form a coherent whole. Strauss (1987) describes this process as 'axial coding'. The purpose of this is to begin to reconstruct codes that were fractured during open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1998), helping to identify relationships and connections. These groups are then further abstracted and fragments of ideas are brought together. These components 'often are meaningless' (Leininger, 1985:60) when viewed alone, but are refined into themes through cognitive mapping. This procedure of further coding and refinement is known as 'selective coding' and involves the integration of categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Diagrammatic and visual techniques are recommended by prominent grounded theory scholars such as Strauss, Corbin and Charmaz. Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that diagramming facilitates conceptualisation by enabling distance from the data.

As part of the process described so far, informal analytic notes are made, which are called 'memos'. Memos are referred to as 'the bedrock of theory generation' (Glaser, 1978:83), storehouses of ideas (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Memos are 'reflections of analytic thought' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008:120) that enable the researcher to reconnect with the data. They capture thoughts, assisting in the exploration and development of ideas, and helping to direct further data gathering. Analytically, they are crucial as they are an integral part of the stimulation of ideas. Richards recognises this when she states that 'memos are the places where the project grows, as your ideas become more complex' (2005:74). Memos provide clarification and direction (Gibbs, 2007), facilitating the identification of patterns and connections within the data, making the analysis 'stronger, clearer and more theoretical' (Charmaz, 2006:115). Huberman and Miles compare memos to field notes and refer to them as 'ongoing stream-of-consciousness commentary about what is happening in the research, involving both observation and analysis - preferably separated from one another' (2002:15).

Strauss and Corbin (1998) stress that memos should be conceptual and not descriptive as they are about ideas derived from people, events, incidents and so on. Similarly, Glaser (1978) asserts that memos take the data to a conceptual level and assist in developing hypotheses about the connections between the categories, in turn generating theory. Memos also help to keep the researcher immersed in the analytical process as they are inevitably interpretations (Gibbs, 2007), forming a 'space and place for exploration and discovery' (Charmaz, 2006:81-82). Furthermore, they assist in the conceptualisation of data in a narrative form. Bryman praises their usefulness in helping to 'crystallise ideas' (2008:547).

Memos were used to record thoughts throughout the analysis of the policy and strategy documents. They were continuously created to note pertinent thoughts and possible interpretations. Each interview was immediately followed by writing a memo, reflecting on the exchange with the interviewee. They were also made as the data was being transcribed. Additional memos recorded any interesting ideas and emerging thoughts such as potential codes and themes, and connections between particular interviews. The completed and checked transcripts were subsequently read repeatedly and further memos were created. During the coding phase, further memo writing was also undertaken. Glaser advises researchers to 'always interrupt coding to memo the idea' (1978:58). Throughout the thematising and mapping stages, yet more memos were written. All of the various memos were dated to provide an audit trail of the thought process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Richards emphasises the importance of audit trails for validity and reliability, to provide 'a consistent and impressive account' of getting from 'hunches and fleeting thoughts' (2005:43) to conclusions.

There was no firm structure to the memo writing, they simply documented anything and everything of interest or potential importance. Huberman and Miles recommend writing down 'whatever impressions occur', that is, 'to react rather than to sift out what may seem important, because it is often difficult to know what will and will not be useful in the future' (2002:15). Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest that there should be a strict separation between primary data, and the commentary and analysis that is contained in memos. The rationale is that theory is grounded in the data and the memos are interpretative notes rather than primary data. This is contradicted by

Richards (2005) who argues that these sources *are* data, which expand in line with further reflections. For this study, I decided to use memos for the purpose of analysis only, rather than as data in themselves. I agreed with Glaser and Strauss, and was influenced by the sheer volume of interview data collected. I was already succumbing to what Pettigrew describes as 'data asphyxiation' (1988:17) and found the volume of data daunting.

Through the repetitive mapping and memo making, the themes were amended, combined and sometimes completely abandoned if there was insufficient support for them or if the categories were analytically thin. As I became more familiar with the method, these cases were relatively easy to identify. I found the notation of thoughts through the memo writing process to be invaluable in terms of the conceptualisation and development of ideas and for maintaining my own connection with the data. They confirmed the content of the interviews, sharpened my understanding of the data, were vital for active reflexivity. They were, essentially, assisting in the generation of codes, themes and theory. Strauss and Corbin explain that in theorising, the researcher is constructing an explanatory scheme from the data 'that systematically integrates various concepts through statements of relationship' (1998:25).

This phase is complete when the themes that have been conceptualised and theorised *adequately* and *accurately* reflect the data. The memos also lead into more general analytical writing, another vital element in the exploration of ideas. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that the aim of thematic analysis is to build a narrative that tells the audience how the findings have illuminated the topic, rather than merely provide a descriptive summary. In order to achieve this, writing throughout the analysis was an essential part of the process. Richardson exclaims 'writing is also a way of 'knowing' – a method of discovery and analysis' (1998:345). Richards also discusses notions of 'uncovering' and 'discovery' (2005:44) that are enabled through writing. It allows researchers to see new aspects of topics (Richardson, 1998), clarifies ideas (Richards, 2005), reveals discrepancies, identifies further relationships and leads to richer interpretations (Smith, 1995). This view of writing and its key role in furthering analytical thinking is shared by a number of writers. It is seen as integral, rather than something that happens at the end of the research. Gibbs states 'writing is thinking'

(2007:25) and Wolcott argues 'you cannot begin writing early enough' (1990:20). Holstein and Gubrium propose that writing and presenting ideas and findings 'is itself an analytically active enterprise' (1995:80), noting the importance of empirically and discursively documenting the sense making process. This is echoed by Ezzy, who states that 'discovery occurs in writing as much as it does during the tasks of data analysis' (2002:138), continuing:

There are many threads that interweave through the complex set of interviews, reflections and observations. The task of writing is to reconstruct this multifaceted, multidimensional ball of information into a linear story with a beginning, middle and end (2002:138-139)

After completing ten interviews and reviewing the memos, I compiled some interim thoughts for discussion with my supervisory team, noting prominent ideas and provisional thoughts about possible findings, even though these ideas were not fully formed.

Some of the data analysis began early on in the interview process and did not wait until all of the data was collected. This meant that the initial analysis informed the subsequent data collection and, of course, its analysis. Huberman and Miles (2002) claim that this flexibility in the data collection is a key feature of theory-building. Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasise simultaneous collection, coding and analysis of data. Huberman and Miles (2002) remind us that whilst many researchers do not achieve the degree of overlap advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), most achieve it to some degree.

Additional ethical issues were considered during the data analysis stage in terms of accurately representing the interviewees. 'Presentational sampling' is the term given to how the data is selected for the presentation of findings (Flick, 2009). Dey (1993) discusses the importance of the method in analysing and theorising the bulk of the data, rather than a selection of examples that support the relevant arguments (Silverman, 1993). Strauss and Corbin (1998) advise 'trimming' the data to focus on the key issues, presenting those findings that are supported by a saturation of codes and discounting others.

Methodological Reflections

This application of thematic analysis on the two data sets has utilised some aspects of the broader framework of grounded theory. As explained, the boundaries between the two methods lack clarity and at the same time, the exact application procedures remain nebulous to some degree, although Braun and Clarke (2006) have made progress in addressing this issue. The Charmazian approach to grounded theory appealed throughout the study in that it adheres to the original tenets of the method but applies them through 'the methodological lens of the present century' (Charmaz, 2006:xi).

It is perhaps useful at this point to reflect upon the degree to which I followed the original tenets of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), as well as the later developments of the method (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Glaser, 2010). Buckley and Waring (2009) emphasise the importance of *understanding* the theoretical variations, rather than selecting a particular interpretation.

Glaser and Strauss advocate simultaneous data collection and analysis. This happened in my study but perhaps not to the degree to which they would recommend. The coding did not formally begin until after the final interview was transcribed. However, some level of analysis was being conducted whilst the data was being collected. The later material was being transcribed as the earlier transcripts were being repeatedly read through. In addition, extensive memo writing was taking place and the initial codes were beginning to be formulated, with some manual coding taking place. So whilst Glaser and Strauss's tenets appear straightforward, it is less clear whether my approach in practice meets their stipulations, which are hard to define.

This leads onto theoretical sampling. Glaser and Strauss assert that sampling should work towards theory construction, not for population representativeness. I can confidently state that within the interview data collection, I followed the prescriptions of this technique. I based my selection of interviewees on the extent to which they would assist in facilitating the developing theory. However, for the document analysis, a theoretical sampling technique was not used. The sampling strategy for this data set was more arbitrary. This was due to the difficulties described earlier in finding a

suitable method of analysis and subsequently the lack of clarity in the interim findings. A methodological framework was developed as the analysis was taking place. One document literally led onto another and the final data set did not resemble what I originally set out to do in the early stages of scoping the project.

Glaser and Strauss suggest constructing analytic codes which are derived from the data and are not preconceived from the hypothesis, but I did not and could not follow this 'pure' inductivism. However, I can vouch that I allowed the data 'to speak' and for the ideas 'to emerge'. I also ensured, in line with Strauss and Corbin's (1998) approach to grounded theory, that codes were abstractly analytical rather than merely descriptive. With regards to coding, they recommend line-by-line coding, termed 'microanalysis'. I did not conduct line-by-line coding, instead preferring to work back and forth through the data. This approach, as an alternative to line-by-line coding, is supported by Mason (1996) and Silverman (2005).

Grounded theory advocates a constant comparative method. This involves comparing each stage of the analysis with what has taken place before. I cannot precisely state that I followed this. One reason is the lack of clarity in understanding this principle. It is covered by many methodological texts but is not clearly defined. Gibbs reports it simply as thinking 'about comparisons all the time as you go through doing your coding' (2007:50). In this sense, within the stages of conceptualisation, some degree of comparison naturally took place, for example, when checking for definitional drift, as explained earlier. However, Gibbs also asserts that 'this is one aspect of what is referred to as the method of constant comparison' (2007:50), perhaps alluding to the difficulties recognised here in fully understanding the term 'constant comparison' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Glaser and Strauss support the advancement of theory development during each step of data collection and analysis. In this research, this happened organically as I looked for ways to explain the data. In this sense, emerging hypotheses were strengthened by subsequent data collection.

Another original principle is memo writing, which took place over an 18 month period, beginning upon completion of the pilot study until the end of the analysis.

Glaser and Strauss recommend conducting the literature review after the analysis. The rationale is so that researchers are not tainted by the existing literature in the development of their theory. However, more recent presentations of this principle are less rigid. On the popular video sharing website *You Tube*, extracts from Glaser's tutorials on the method can be viewed. On discussing the literature review within grounded theory, Glaser states:

Go to the literature any time you want ... once the theory is out, you go to a whole different literature ... the initial literature is so irrelevant to what comes out of the dissertation (2010:online)

This is an important distinction from the earlier interpretation of this principle. This study exactly reflects Glaser's point here. A literature review was conducted early in the research in order to survey the published work on instrumentalism. Whilst this was an important element in the research, it can be observed that a different body of literature is used in the conclusions to explain the findings. In this sense, I would advocate conducting both a pre and post-analysis literature review.

This discussion demonstrates that it is debatable whether my data collection and analytical methods constitute grounded theory. Whilst some precepts have clearly been adhered to, it is difficult to assess the extent to which others have been met, primarily due to the principles being contested and somewhat ill-defined. As such, I cannot claim to have strictly adhered to the principles. Bradley (2010) faced similar issues and argued that her research was a reconstruction of grounded theory that was not beyond comparison with the original tenets. I do claim to have conducted thematic analysis, whilst being heavily influenced by a grounded theory framework. More specifically, I do not believe that this is the most important question. Rather, the central points seem to be whether the method was applied thoughtfully, whether it demonstrated rigour, whether it worked to obtain meaningful results and whether the study is valid, reliable and credible. Upon reflection, I can confidently make

methodological claims in all of these areas. These claims are fully substantiated in the final section in this chapter on validity and reliability.

The Use of Analytic Software

NVivo was used to a limited extent in the analysis of the interview data. Whilst I intended to use software to aid analytic scope and depth, I found the highly visual and physical element of manual working to be hugely productive. The manual process suited my style of working, the highly visual and creative aspect offering an unparalleled engagement with the data. NVivo did not offer the same visual immediacy, as the coded areas are not visible on screen, in contrast to manual working. I attended an NVivo training course prior to the data collection and was advised not to even transcribe the data, as the most recent version of the software allows sound files to be analysed. In my experience, transcribing the material was just one aspect of familiarising myself and making a connection with the data. As I have argued in this chapter, transcription is a valuable analytic stage. So, upon transcribing the data, I began using the manual process to code. After two thorough coding stages across the entire data set, I decided to move to NVivo, in order to achieve greater analytic depth.

Transferring the data to NVivo was a labour intensive and painstaking process. When the data had been entered, I began to code further as well as use the 'query' function in an attempt to identify more patterns within the data. However, after persevering with this for some considerable time, I felt that it was not eliciting any more depth and I became frustrated, unsure whether I was asking the correct questions of the data. After some time, I returned to the manual method, which, almost immediately, continued to deliver analytic breakthroughs.

NVivo claims to assist in aiding efficiency and adding analytic depth. Whilst acknowledging my limitations in using the software, in this study, it slowed the analytic process. Despite my failure to use the software to its full potential, NVivo did serve a key function. It was the setting up of the software that was helpful in the analysis, as I had to formulate a structure for the codes, to group and order them. This process meant that the data was further disaggregated as I had to set up 'codes' (units of meaning), 'nodes' (groups of ideas) and 'trees' (sets of meanings that fit together).

Aside from the issue of different terminology within NVivo, it was the process of inputting the data that was of use in productive checking for code accuracy, establishing a structure and considering relationships. Whilst the structure was worked out manually, using the cut out labels, incorporating the software at that point meant that the coding structure was finalised and confirmed, which enabled the analysis to continue to advance. As a final note, NVivo requires coding structures to be set up before the data can be coded. To me, this seems to defeat the purpose. It is the iterative nature of the procedure that establishes the codes, themes and their structure.

NVivo was very helpful in the reporting and writing up of the findings. For each code, I set up a separate folder for 'useful quotes'. This enabled the fast and easy retrieval of material, thus aiding efficiency at a later stage.

I recognise that if the software was fully utilised, the efficiency of the analytic procedure would be significantly enhanced (Bazeley, 2007). Nevertheless, what would inevitably be lost, would be the creative process, which, for me, was integral to the formulation of ideas. A number of scholars also recognise this 'tension between efficiency and creativity' (Richards, 2005:106). Fielding and Lee (1998) identify a feeling of being distant from the data when using software. Kelle (1995) points out that software can potentially turn qualitative research into an automated process which overlooks the importance of human interpretation. Similarly, Legeiwe, (in personal correspondence), notes that manual methods may be more important to 'inspire your creativity than even the nicest computer diagrams' (cited in Strauss and Corbin, 1998:278). Hutchison *et al* (2010) recognise to some degree that software can allow complex analysis without fully understanding the methodological principles.

To conclude, upon reflection, I would advocate the manual method over the software but recognise that this is a matter of personal preference. Indeed, academic research and anecdotal evidence demonstrates that for some, it is highly beneficial. However, for me, whilst working manually takes longer and is messier, it enables an all-encompassing absorption and engagement with the data, having a visual and physical immediacy that the software could not match.

Validity and Reliability

These methodological reflections ultimately lead to a discussion of 'validity' and 'reliability'. Validity refers to the issue of whether 'an indicator (or set of indicators) that is devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept' (Bryman, 2008:151). Reliability is 'the degree to which a study can be replicated' (Bryman, 2008:376). These concepts arise from the quantitative research tradition and it is argued that as such, they do not sit entirely comfortably within qualitative research. These traditional criteria do not take into account the specific features of qualitative research and data (Flick, 2009). Richards dramatically writes, 'it has been the bloodiest battlegrounds in the hundred-year war against inflexible criteria for quantitative research' (2005:139). Consequently, effort has been made to adjust, extrapolate and expand the concepts in order to provide a more appropriate fit. Various attempts have been made to develop alternative criteria for assessing qualitative research. For example, Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability as measures for qualitative research. Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest critically assessing the credibility of the data, the adequacy of the research process, the plausibility and the value of the theory itself, and the empirical grounding of the research findings. However, Flick (2009) believes that none of these suggestions have completely resolved the problem. Therefore, in my interpretation of these concepts, I have conflated a number of approaches.

Flick notes the 'certain fuzziness' (2009:391) in attempting to formulate the concept of validity. He comments on the utility in shifting from the term 'validity' to 'validation', and from assessing individual steps, or part of the research, to increasing transparency of the whole research process. Similarly, Richards turns to semantics in order to differentiate valid, validate and validity as terms; settling on 'if it's valid, it's well founded and sound' (2005:139). Hammersley summarises validity as 'truth: interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers' (1990:57). Kvale brings these ideas together:

validity refers in ordinary language to the truth, the correctness and the strength of a statement. A valid argument is sound, well grounded, justifiable, strong and convincing. Validity in the social sciences pertains to the issue of whether a method investigated what it purports to investigate (2007:122)

It is this notion of validity that I will base the discussion on in this section.

Altheide and Johnson discuss validity as 'reflexive accounting', locating the concept within the entire research process. They offer a number of points with which to assess validity, including acknowledging the context within which the observations are made; recognising the relationship between the researcher, participant and setting; considering the audience and accurately representing the findings and conclusions (1998:291-292). Their commentary makes clear the importance of reflexivity and its role as the starting point. Gibbs argues:

reflexivity is the recognition that the product of research inevitably reflects some of the background, milieu and predilections of the researcher ... the qualitative researcher ... cannot claim to be an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research reports (2007:91)

This point is shared by other researchers such as Mason (2002) and Brewer (2000). In this sense, in order to assess the validity of the study, I must first recognise my role in the research, that is, in the way that the study was devised, the collection of data, how it was analysed and reported. This is challenging, as I inevitably influenced the study through my behaviour, approach and demographic characteristics. Rather than being 'a neutral data collector' (Mason, 2002:66), I recognise my position as an active and reflexive researcher, and the following information shows how I took steps to ensure that my study is valid and reliable.

Reliability pertains to the 'consistency and trustworthiness of research findings' (Kvale, 2007:122). It essentially comes down to whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers. In the words of Hammersley, reliability is the 'degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions' (1992:67). Of course, in replicating a research study, the interviewees could quite feasibly change their answers or offer different responses, for example. Therefore, issues concerning reliability relate to the accurate documenting of actions in the collection of data, the transcription of interviews, the analysis, the resultant theory and the presentation of material.

Earlier in the chapter, I briefly discussed generalisability. Gibbs states that conclusions are generalisable 'if they are true for a wide (but specified) range of circumstances beyond those studied in the particular research' (2007:91). This is a tricky area as qualitative research often involves too few subjects for the findings to be generalised. Strauss and Corbin believe that you cannot generalise from one case, especially in a quantitative sense, but you can learn a large amount from one study. This is due to qualitative research studying concepts, 'their relationships, the conditions in which they are likely to occur, the forms they take and their consequences' (1998:284). Hence, they emphasise the importance of contextualisation.

In this research, I aimed for a well executed and reported study in which validity permeated the entire research process. I base my claims on an appropriate research design, using methods that are demonstrably appropriate for the research problem, which I have justified in this chapter and have shown through the material in the following chapters. I have used data triangulation, that is, multiple data collection methods, to strengthen my conclusions. Triangulation was incorporated into the research design to improve the probability of an accurate and reliable theory. Throughout the whole research process, a diary was kept which noted anything and everything of interest. This was in order to keep track of what happened in the research and why certain courses of action were chosen, to ensure accuracy in the reporting of research and for the purposes of reliability. King and Horrocks explain the importance of recording 'uninhibited, candid and personal thoughts' (2010:131) in order to provide methodological insight.

In terms of data collection, I have ensured ethical rigour. This involved obtaining informed consent from my interviewees, with whom I negotiated special access, considering issues around confidentiality and anonymity, and respecting the consequences and impact that the research may have on the participants, especially in light of the trust and rapport that developed between us. Through this, I have collected reliable data, which can be observed through my recordings, field notes and memos. As much of this material as possible is presented in this thesis and the entire data has been responsibly stored. In order to maximise reliability, I used standardised

procedures, carefully following methodological prescriptions in order to ensure the correct application of methods.

Concerning the analysis, I transcribed my own data in order to familiarise myself with it, which, as I argued earlier, is the starting point for the analysis. I transcribed the interviews verbatim, ensuring that they were as true to the originals as possible, therefore, faithfully capturing the respondents' views. I checked the accuracy of transcripts (Kvale, 2007) and in addition, gave the interviewees access to check them. This authentication by the participants is known as 'communicative validation' (Flick, 2009). I rigorously analysed the data, consistently coding and closely following the methodological procedures. Working alone is useful to ensure accuracy and consistency, as well as making the claims for both. I adequately documented the process, as explained through this chapter and demonstrated in the workings presented in the appendices. Through this, I show how the codes, themes, and concepts were derived from the data. These workings illustrate the development of empirically sound, reliable and valid findings. Through triangulation, my data sets corroborate each other.

Finally, in the presentation of the research, I have aimed to demonstrate how my findings are grounded in the data. I have also aimed to show the relationship between the data, interpretation and conclusions. There is a factual accuracy in my account of the data collection and analysis process, and the data itself is truthfully presented. Huberman and Miles (2002) refer to this as 'descriptive validity'. I have provided evidence in the form of quotations and analytical workings. The processes are transparent and well documented, the memos show the detail of my data records, as well as my thought processes and reflections (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). This ensures that the processes are 'visible and verifiable' (Bowen, 2009:307), the results evident and the conclusions convincing as true. At the same time, this also maintains rigour and achieves accountability (Holliday, 2002). Kirk and Miller (1986) argue that for reliability to be assessed, the research must document the procedure. Seale (1999:x), in his discussion of quality and 'methodological awareness', advises researchers to reveal their methodological workings. Through these well-validated procedures, I have ensured that my work is as reliable as possible. I have accurately

reported the interviewees' responses and contextualised these, providing sufficient data extracts to allow the reader to evaluate the inferences drawn from them and the interpretations made of them. Again, I have allowed the participants to check their quotations in the final thesis. Through triangulation, the first data set was corroborated by the evidence from the second, strengthening and grounding the findings. My study is empirically valid, that is, the theory is valid because it is based on an analytic process, which was closely connected to evidence and consistent with empirical observation (Huberman and Miles, 2002). I have aimed to describe accurately every aspect of the study. As Wolcott puts it: 'description is the foundation upon which qualitative research is built' (1990:27).

Throughout the research process, I have critically assessed my integrity as both a researcher and an author, and the strengths and weaknesses of my research design. I have candidly discussed and presented the problems that arose during all stages of the study. In this research, I have endeavoured to achieve a high quality of craftsmanship (Kvale, 2007) in undertaking interviews, managing the research process and in the rigorous analysis and communication of the findings. Rigour is described as the demonstration of integrity and competence within a research study (Aroni *et al*, 1999).

It is against a wealth of secondary material that I have assessed the concepts of validity and reliability in relation to my research. I am confident in stating that I believe that I have achieved both, within both the limitations of my study and the concepts themselves as applied to qualitative research.

This chapter has defined, described and justified the chosen methodology for the research. Whilst it has articulated the entire process of data collection and analysis, it should also be read in parallel with the methodological workings in the appendices to gain a comprehensive understanding of both the method and its application to the data sets. The following chapter reveals the empirical findings from the document analysis, which should again be referred to alongside Appendix Two.

CHAPTER FOUR

Document Analysis

Introduction

This chapter reports the findings from the analysis of three official documents published by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Arts Council England and the British Museum. The documents were subjected to a systematised examination using thematic analysis. The structure of this chapter is based around the three individual analyses, using quotations from the data and interpretative commentary to illustrate and argue key points.

The methodology chapter outlined the sampling strategy and this chapter takes each text in turn, in the order in which they were analysed. On completion of the third analysis, the findings from all three analyses were compared and conclusions drawn across the data set. The previous chapter provided a comprehensive account of the methodological process and a selection of analytical workings can be found in Appendix Two.

Before reporting on the first analysis, it is essential to contextualise the documents through a brief characterisation of the organisations which authored them. The DCMS's *International Strategy* was the starting point of the empirical work as this was a key text that emerged when scoping out this research. The DCMS receives money from the Treasury, which it allocates to both ACE and a selection of cultural organisations directly. The *International Policy* of ACE was the next document to be analysed. I wanted to ascertain if the findings from the DCMS analysis were a singular case and what similarities or differences there were.

ACE was selected as, like the DCMS, it operates at a distance from cultural practice. Neither is involved in the production of cultural activity but rather, they are responsible for the policy and funding which underpins this activity. However, there are also fundamental differences between these organisations. The DCMS is a Government department with an extremely broad portfolio, encompassing everything from sport and leisure, through entertainment and broadcasting, to alcohol and

gambling, and includes the arts. In contrast, ACE is an independent, national development agency which operates at arm's length from Government and often acts as a bridge between Government and the cultural sector. Hence, this is another reason for its selection.

The British Museum was the third document subjected to analysis. The organisation is different again from the previous two as it deals with culture and artistic production directly. The museum is the custodian of the globally significant collection which it holds in London, and shows throughout the world via its touring exhibition programme and through collaborative working.

Whilst I was interested in finding out what similarities or differences there were between the documents, it is important to note that I did not set out to actively *look* for comparable findings. However, distinct parallels emerged. In line with thematic analysis and grounded theory, it was important to allow the analysis to be data-driven and not allow the previous findings to influence me. Whilst the separate analyses were not influenced by each other, the latter two analyses nevertheless acted as a kind of 'check' or verification of the DCMS analysis. The ACE and British Museum analyses triangulated the findings from the DCMS analysis. The structure of this chapter reflects this emphasis, offering a more detailed reporting of the DCMS analysis, which is presented first. This weighting also reflects the size of the documents, with the DCMS's strategy of 8,196 words being approximately twice the size of ACE document at 3,565 words, and four times the size of the British Museum's text of 1,923 words.

The DCMS's *International Strategy*

The DCMS's *International Strategy* is based on the ten international political objectives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (henceforth FCO), covering a broad range of issues including terrorism, weapons proliferation, climate change, poverty and corruption. The document acknowledges that these priorities 'will change and will be shaped by world events' (2006:4) and following on, the DCMS will respond to these changes 'as they occur and continue to make an important contribution to the wider agenda' (2006:4). Therefore, the strategy is responsive rather than proactive in that it

has been developed in reaction to the FCO's priorities and will change in line with the wider political landscape.

The analytical process revealed three overarching themes in the DCMS's *International Strategy* - 'cooperation', 'competition' and 'contribution'. The sub-category of 'Britain is best' was also found within each of the themes. The diagram below in figure 1 shows the final thematic map from this analysis. The black arrows in the diagram show the connections between the themes and sub-themes. The red arrows represent the main relationships between the themes and the directional flow, that is, how all of the themes within the document stem from the theme of contribution. The methodological workings in Appendix Two demonstrate how I arrived at this point. The themes featured in the map, derived from the document, are now explained and discussed in detail.

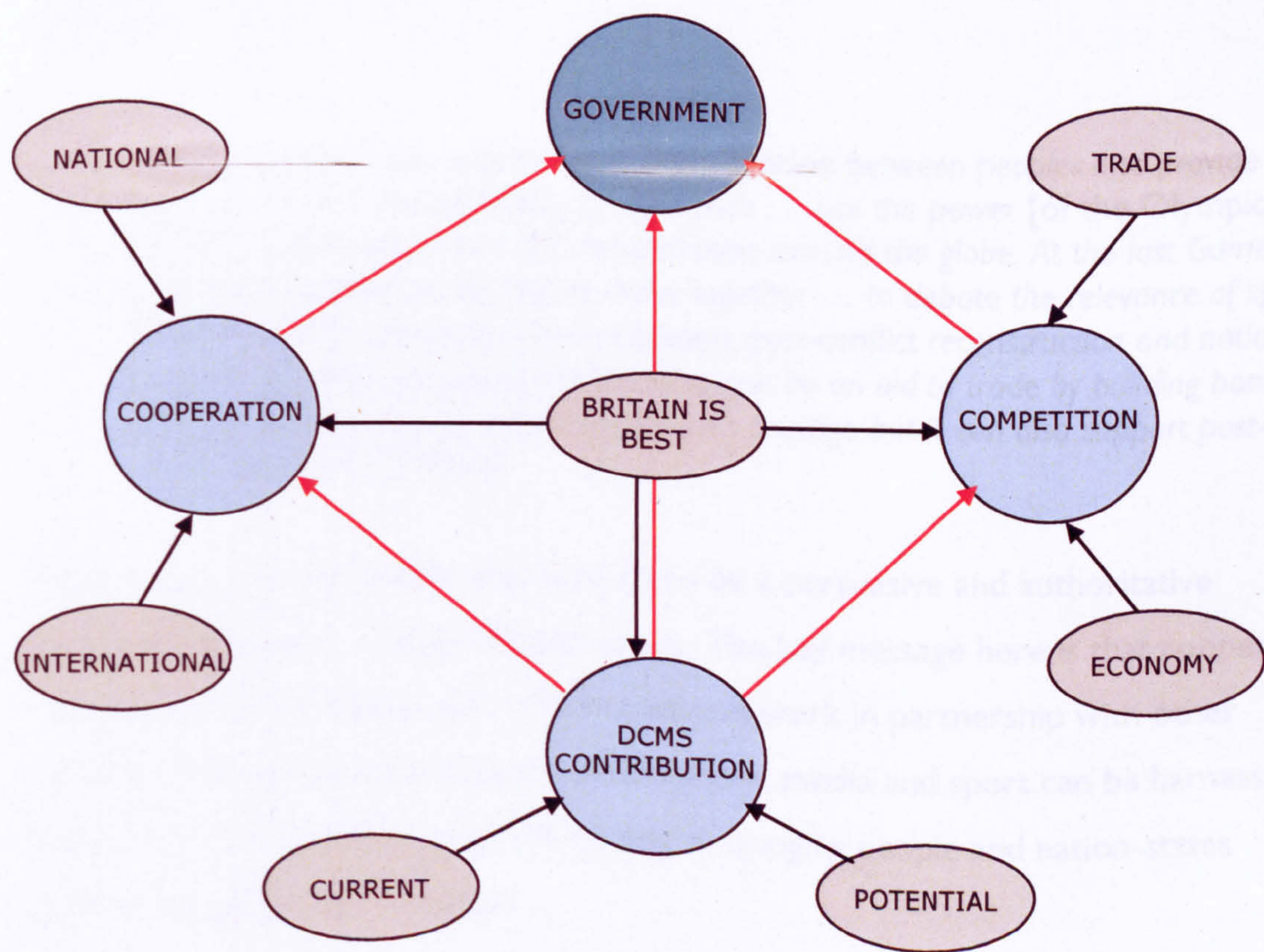


Figure 1 – Final Thematic Map of the DCMS's *International Strategy*

Cooperation

Throughout the document, references are made to the need or desire for cooperation, in order to fulfil a range of political objectives. This mission for cooperation is on a national and international scale, and 'building understanding' through cultural and sporting exchange, is 'as important in the United Kingdom as it is abroad' (2006:18).

In terms of national cooperation, there is a strategic drive to establish unity or cohesion within the nation. In her foreword, the former Secretary of State, Tessa Jowell, asserts: '[the Olympic Games] presented an opportunity to galvanise the country in support of a common goal' (2006:2). Jowell's foreword stresses the need to invigorate the nation, to spur it into a sense of unity and shared purpose. The essence of her introduction is that there is great potential in 'bringing [people] together' (2006:2) to unite the world and that this 'togetherness' begins in the UK. Jowell continues:

Culture and sport can help to break down barriers between peoples and provide a space for shared understanding of difference ... use the power [of the Olympic Games] to promote peace and reconciliation around the globe. At the last Games ... more than 22 post-conflict states came together ... to debate the relevance of sport to peace, conflict prevention and resolution, post-conflict reconstruction and national dialogue. Building a shared understanding can be an aid to trade by building bonds between individuals and enhancing Britain's prestige but it can also support post-conflict resolution (2006:2)

This is a powerful declaration that intends to be a persuasive and authoritative statement. It contains a range of bold claims. The key message here is that cooperation is needed to communicate with, understand and work in partnership with other countries. The document articulates how culture, media and sport can be harnessed to these ends. They have a unique role to play in bringing people and nation-states together for global reconciliation.

'We' and 'our'

The document is imbued with a sense of shared ownership – of *our* history, *our* culture, *our* prestige, *our* future. There is a consistent use of the words 'we' and 'our'.

However, it is often ambiguous whether 'we' and 'our' refers to the DCMS, the British people or the unidentified 'audience'. The following passage provides an example of this, with 'we' and 'our' indicated in bold. I quote at length to make the point clear:

*A lot of the work of DCMS and the sectors **we** sponsor already has an international dimension. **Our** broadcasters, theatres, musicians, artists, performers and filmmakers enjoy the highest international reputations, as do **our** museums and galleries making a major contribution to Britain's international prestige ... **Our** sectors make a valuable contribution to the UK's public diplomacy efforts ... The DCMS Strategy identifies five key international goals that capture the distinctive and diverse nature of the activity carried out by **our** sectors ... However, they all demonstrate that **we** can add unique value to the achievement of UK wide objectives ... **We** will need to work closely with **our** sectors to review and revise these policy aims, and to develop ways of working to leverage maximum impact in support of **our** international aspirations. This will be a continuing process (2006:4-5)*

The DCMS appears to be speaking for the nation as a single unified entity and often refers to the organisations and individuals that constitute the cultural and sporting sectors as 'our'. This notion of possession both takes responsibility for them and the credit for their work. Despite the DCMS funding some of this work, it is the individuals within the sectors that undertake these endeavours and their skills, talents and qualities that the DCMS is claiming to own. If these successes can be shown to contribute to the fulfilment of Government objectives, it justifies the existence of the department. For example, in relation to the DCMS's five international goals - 'excellence', 'opportunity', 'economy', 'diversity' and 'sustainability', the document states:

*DCMS sectors are recognised as world-class leaders in their fields. **We** use this expertise to create international partnerships ... **We** provide unique international opportunities. **Our** cultural, sporting and creative offer helps to address global challenges ... **Our** sectors generate a significant contribution to the UK economy through the development of international markets and audiences. **We** negotiate and compete successfully at international level ... **Our** sectors support and showcase cultural diversity in the UK and overseas. **We** build vital links between communities here and overseas ... **Our** International activity supports sustainable development (2006:5)*

'Our' is also used to suggest that culture belongs to us all. 'Our' culture is a product of 'us' - by 'us' and for 'us'. Again, this gives a sense of unity, solidarity and strength. In

addition, the collocations are striking, with Jowell combining the word 'our' with a combination of positive attributes:

*... the twin characteristics of Britishness are **our adaptiveness** and openness. In a globalised world **our ability to innovate, our inquisitive nature and our ready acceptance of new ideas** become more important not less. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in our culture, sport and creative and leisure industries (2006:3)*

In this quote, it is ambiguous whether the 'our' refers to the DCMS or Britain. Furthermore, Jowell describes the qualities that might be possessed by an individual, rather than a population of over 60 million people.

Perhaps the desire to bring about solidarity and the use of 'we' and 'our' transposes some responsibility onto the British people with regards to the political challenges. It is as though the strategy is saying that just like our culture and our achievements, these difficulties belong to all of us and we must all tackle the obstacles that they present. It is *our* concern.

This idea of 'unity' is again emphasised in the appendices with a long list of 'our international partners' (2006:24-26). This device is used to both demonstrate an alignment with the cultural sector and to add authority to the document. This is also the case for the more narrative segments, case studies entitled *How we work*. These implicitly emphasise a sense of harmony and togetherness, and are discussed in detail later in the chapter.

There are subtleties throughout the document in the selection of particular words. For example, the word 'partnership' is used twelve times and preferred over the word 'relationship'. Partnership gives a favourable gloss to a relationship which could be described in more negative terms. In fact, the word 'partnership' frequently occurs with other favourable words, phrases or sentences, further enhancing the positive connotations of the word. These collocations are demonstrated in the quotes below:

*... the China cultural **partnership** demonstrated what can be achieved when we are **bold and imaginative** (2006:3)*

*... demonstrated to me how commercial and cultural **partnership** is found in the old as well as the new. While there I had the chance to explore some of India's **rich heritage** as well as gain a **deeper understanding** of our **shared history*** (2006:3)

*DCMS sectors are recognised as **world-class** leaders in their fields. We use this **expertise** to create international **partnerships*** (2006:5)

*Creative, tourism and leisure industries are **major growth sectors** in the **global economy**. **International trade** and **two-way investment** in our sectors enhances the **UK's prosperity** and **competitiveness**. DCMS, in **partnership** with UK Trade and Investment, the British Council and industry representatives are **working together** to identify ways of **improving economic performance** in **overseas markets*** (2006:14)

Competition

There is a strong undertow of competition running throughout the strategy. At the beginning of the document, it is alluded to somewhat casually, almost in a throwaway fashion, as if a by-product of an overarching objective: 'Building a shared understanding can be an aid to trade by building bonds between individuals and enhancing Britain's prestige' (2006:2).

As the document progresses, competition becomes more dominant as it is connected to the wider political objectives of the FCO. Out of the FCO's ten international goals, two directly relate to economic issues, ensuring that the country is both economically competitive: 'Building an effective and globally competitive EU in a secure neighbourhood' (2006:4) and financially stable: 'Supporting the UK economy and business through an open and expanding global economy, science and innovation and secure energy supplies' (2006:4). 'Economy' is also one of the five strategic goals of the DCMS (2006:5), with the words 'trade', 'economy' and 'economic' featuring recurrently.

Presented within the document is a table that aims to demonstrate how the priorities of the DCMS support the UK's international priorities, as established by the FCO. There are some bold claims made in this section. For example, in relation to the FCO goal of 'reducing the harm to the UK from international crime, including drug trafficking, people smuggling and money laundering', the DCMS pledges to 'Work

closely with OGDs [other government departments] to ensure intellectual property is understood, respected and properly protected in the global economy' (2006:7).

Although tenuous, this is a clear attempt to make the two sets of goals appear harmonious. The tabular format adds to this intention, in a further effort to show the marriage between the DCMS's and FCO's goals. This is an example of a visual element being used for strategic purposes.

The main thrust of the argument in this section relates to the DCMS's emphasis on the importance of the sectors that it supports – culture, media and sport - to the UK economy. The document asserts that the sectors are integral to the country's position in the global economy, and the nation's prosperity is enhanced by, or at times, dependent on, the commercial viability of the sectors on an international level. More specifically, this refers to the export of cultural, sporting and media-related people, products and performances.

This argument, that the sectors supported by the DCMS play a vital role in building and maintaining a strong international position economically, is often validated by the use of statistics and bold assertions. An example of such a claim is as follows:

Our sectors generate a significant contribution to the UK economy through the development of international markets and audiences. We negotiate and compete successfully at international level (2006:5)

In terms of the inclusion of statistics to strengthen its case, the document reads:

The UN estimates that creative industries account for 7% of global GDP and are growing at 10% a year. The UK creative sector, with its diversity of talent, creative depth and innovative ideas is already a global leader. These sectors are vital to the UK's future prosperity. In 2004 the Creative Industries contributed 8% of the UK's Gross Value Added. In London employment in the Creative Industries accounts for one in five jobs (2000). The UK's strength lies in our global reputation for creativity and innovation together with our role as a leading cultural sector (2006:14)

'Gross Value Added', as featured in the quote above, measures the contribution of individual sectors to the country's overall economy. So the main thread of the DCMS's argument is that the sectors stimulate economic growth, that wealth can be generated

through the export of culture, media and sport, and that economic advantage is secured as a consequence of the calibre of the sectors and their high profile work.

In some ways, the sectors and their associated people, products and performances are discussed in the same way as more commonplace products and services which can be sold and transferred across borders. An example of this is the case study *How we work: UK Film Council and the Harry Potter films*. The document states:

Since the year 2000, the UK has played host to five films in the Harry Potter series, the latest being the fourth instalment: Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire. Produced for US studios Warner Bros by a UK producer based on British stories and filmed in the UK with a British cast and crew; the production of these films has created thousands of jobs for British workers across the UK ... UK Film Council's Inward Investment Team have worked closely with Warner Bros to ensure that the UK remains the location of choice for the production of these British stories in an increasingly competitive market (2006:14)

So, in the interests of commercialism, this wholly British product has been sold to an American company, yet the distinct 'Britishness' of the product will be retained, thus exemplifying a 'commodification' (Gray, 2000) of the arts. Gray explains:

... [the arts] considered not as objects of use (for example, providing pleasure for individuals or groups or provoking thought), but as commodities that can be judged by the same economic criteria that can be applied to cars, clothes or any other consumer good. Essentially issues of aesthetic or personal worth are replaced by those of the material and impersonal marketplace (2000:6)

And so the document emphasises the role that the DCMS plays within international trade. It argues that the appropriate environment needs to be nurtured in order to maximise the potential of the sectors; that research needs to be undertaken to identify opportunities; that organisations need help to realise their potential; that the unique aspects of the sectors need to be protected and that strategies need to be developed to fully exploit future commercial possibilities. The following example demonstrates this:

DCMS aims to maintain and enhance the world position of our creative sectors. We aim to achieve this by ensuring that the UK has the best possible conditions for our creative sectors to flourish. We will also support these sectors to exploit the

opportunities presented by new technology and new global markets ... DCMS, in partnership with UK Trade and Investment, the British Council and industry representatives are working together to identify ways of improving economic performance in overseas markets. This fits within our developing programmes for the creative, visitor and sporting economies (2006:14)

Finally, the document does not discuss the potential friction between competition and cooperation, instead representing the two opposing concepts as complementary aspects of global order. However, the contradiction is clear, as competition creates 'winners' and 'losers'. In this document, nation-states are seen as compliant agents, viewed more like people than entire countries, with no discussion of the interplay between them. The idea of cooperation with regards to world trade involves the concept of an interdependent community of nations that, in theory, are compatible and in harmony with one another. The strategy mentions 'exchange' only three times throughout the whole document. This could be due to its incompatibility with the notion of competition. The emphasis here is on the commercialisation of cultural products to generate income and boost the nation's wealth, thus appearing to be at odds with the objective of international cultural relations, as observed by Mitchell:

the result [of applying notions of competition to cultural relations] would be a competition for cultural markets, a contest between national images, a recrudescence of nineteenth-century cultural nationalism, which would not conduce to understanding and co-operation (1986:80)

Contribution

The concepts of 'competition' and 'cooperation' are underpinned by the idea of 'contribution'. More specifically, this relates to the contribution that the DCMS makes to the work of the Government. By using a variety of approaches to state its contribution, the DCMS can be seen to be providing a justification of its funding.

One approach employed within the document is to demonstrate that the department is already funding high calibre international work, hence making a current contribution to the economy, global order and other aspects of the wider political agenda. There are many instances in which the DCMS describes the contribution that it is currently making on an international level, albeit through the work of its sectors. In essence, this

is a way of the DCMS justifying its existence and attempting to secure its subsidy for future years, and several strategies are employed in this effort.

The first approach is to simply show that the department is already funding international work. A key element of this is the *How we work* case studies, which provide 'short examples demonstrating some of the best of our international activity' (2006:8). Again, the use of 'we' here is noteworthy. However, their role is not merely to impart information. Rather, their inclusion is to strategically demonstrate that the DCMS is already funding a range of organisations and individuals to undertake a wide variety of international work, and not only that, but the standard of these projects is exceptionally high. This notion of engagement is exemplified by the persistent use of words such as 'ongoing', 'existing', 'building upon', 'already' and 'current'/'currently'. Whilst the approach is subtler, the key message remains the same, which is that the DCMS is stating 'we are already doing this'. For example:

DCMS now looks to co-ordinate humanitarian assistance in the UK for British victims of major disasters, building on the work the Department carried out to support those affected by 9/11 (2006:5)

The US has been identified as number one priority for the music sector, and we are currently working with the music industry to develop a strategy to help UK music companies exploit opportunities in the US (2006:14)

The key point here is that by demonstrating that the DCMS is currently funding international work, it is showing that it already contributes to wider political objectives.

Following on, the document proposes the idea of a 'unique offering', whereby the DCMS is the only department that can achieve these specific results due to the nature of the sectors. Thus, by saying 'we are the only ones that can achieve this', the department also attempts to make itself indispensable. The word 'unique' occurs seven times and synonyms such as 'innovative' appear twelve times. For example:

The examples selected are intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, and vary considerably in terms of scale and scope. However, they all demonstrate that we can add unique value to the achievement of UK wide objectives (2006:5)

The purpose of this strategy is to set out the unique role that culture, media, sport, and the creative, visitor and leisure industries can play in support of the UK's international priorities (2006:5)

DCMS and its sectors can play a unique role in supporting the UK's response to shared global challenges, including security, justice and prosperity (2006:10)

This notion of indispensability is explicitly stated at one point:

Our long tradition of cultural exchange ... leaves us uniquely placed to capitalise on the new melding of cultural traditions that is the result of population transfer and globalisation (2006:18)

Linked to this idea of 'uniqueness', is the heavy usage of the word 'new' and its synonyms, for example:

... bold and innovative new dance work (2006:3)

The UK creative sector, with its diversity of talent, creative depth and innovative ideas is already a global leader (2006:14)

They will incorporate the latest historical research (2006:19)

... innovative design techniques can help to reduce the environmental footprint of new buildings (2006:20)

For the first time, Europe's globally important natural history collections and resources will be available in a coordinated way to scientists across Europe. SYNTHESYS will provide an opportunity for exchanging information and stimulating research (2006:22)

By using words and phrases such as 'innovative' and 'for the first time', the rhetoric is declaring that this work, funded by the DCMS and undertaken by the sectors that it supports, is groundbreaking, pioneering, unprecedented and at the forefront of practice. So not only do these statements reveal that international work is already being undertaken, they also comment on the quality and importance of this work.

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Again, the document is emphasising the contribution that the DCMS makes to the work of the Government.

The visual elements of the strategy are used to similarly demonstrate this contribution. Usually considered as an instrument to break up text or aid understanding, these images, charts and graphs are used strategically. For example, the following diagram in figure 2 is based on a British Council report entitled *Through Other Eyes*. From the limited information provided, the reader can only assume that the following bar charts are based on two statements in which respondents have been asked to either agree or disagree. They are:

- 1) Britain is strongly renowned for creativity and innovation in the arts
- 2) British design is renowned around the world

Figure 2 – British Council, *Through Other Eyes*, 2000 (2006:9)

This graph appears under a title 'Britain is renowned for our creativity and innovation in art and design', but no other information is given. The graph is characteristic of the visual elements in the document in that there is no contextual information and the specific details are vague. In this instance, there are no details on what *Through Other Eyes* is. Also, the reader can only assume that in each case, there was a proportion of 'I don't know' responses as the diagrams only account for 74% and 70% respectively. In addition, the statistics are from six years prior to the publication of the document so it

could be argued that this data is out of date and invalid. Therefore, this diagram lacks credibility. Other visual elements within the document can be similarly critiqued.¹

Another method used to show the contribution made by the DCMS is to utilise third party endorsements. For example:

The programme is funded by an extraordinary £500,000 grant from DCMS announced by the Prime Minister (2006:12)

The Commission for Africa report, launched at the British Museum in March 2005, made it clear that culture must be taken into account in development work in Africa (2006:12)

Therefore, the key message - that the DCMS is undertaking valuable work and its role is essential - thus appears stronger from an external source. This, in turn, adds weight to the key message.

Previous examples have been used to show various devices that aim to convince and persuade. However, there are numerous points within the document where the key messages are communicated in a direct and straightforward manner. For example, the following quotations show a clear acknowledgment of Government's overall objectives and the DCMS's position in the hierarchy:

We [DCMS] are aware that these priorities [of the FCO] will change and will be shaped by world events. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport, together with its sectors (culture, media, sport and the creative, tourism and leisure industries) will respond to these changes as they occur and continue to make an important contribution to the wider agenda (2006:4)

It [the document] also provides examples of how our goals and activities can contribute to the achievement of the Government's international priorities. The examples ... demonstrate that we can add unique value to the achievement of UK wide objectives ... the Strategy identifies a range of specific policy aims for how DCMS will pursue its international goals in the short term, and the countries and regions on which we will focus. We will need to work closely with our sectors to review

¹ Whilst semiotic analysis was not the chosen method for this research, it is important to note that the function of the visual elements within the document is strategic in that they support the messages implicit in the textual content.

and revise these policy aims, and to develop ways of working to leverage maximum impact in support of our international aspirations (2006:5)

Essentially, these are statements endorsing instrumentalism. Moreover, they demonstrate a compliance with those higher up the chain of command.

Britain is Best

Throughout the document, there are a plethora of references to the culture, media and sporting sectors funded by the DCMS as being 'the best'. A two-pronged argument can be observed whereby British culture, media and sport are proposed as the best in the world, as well as being recognised as key elements of the nation's prosperity. The following quotation about the award of the Olympics is one example of these authoritative statements:

The decision was not just recognition of London's position as a pre-eminent world city but also an acclamation of the United Kingdom's deep tradition of excellence and openness in our sports and culture (2006:2)

A similar commanding tone is employed as the strategy focuses more specifically on these sectors. Numerous examples include the following:

From arts and culture to the creative industries, and from sporting excellence to creating a healthier nation the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games is one example of the UK's sustained international excellence ... Our museums and galleries, theatres and opera houses because of their world-class reputation bring the best the world has to offer to British audiences. The UK is home to some of the world's most spectacular built and natural heritage ... Our creative industries are growing at twice the rate of the economy as a whole. Our sportsmen and women compete successfully on the world stage ... The excellence of our culture, sport and creative industries at home means that UK skills are in demand around the world. From ipods to the fashion industry British designers lead the world (2006:2)

Our broadcasters, theatres, musicians, artists, performers and filmmakers enjoy the highest international reputations, as do our museums and galleries making a major contribution to Britain's international prestige. The UK is a major international tourist destination, and home to 27 UNESCO designated World Heritage Sites ... our sportsmen and women compete successfully in international competitions around the globe. Our creative and leisure industries compete vigorously and successfully in the global marketplace (2006:4)

DCMS sectors are recognised as world-class leaders in their fields. We use this expertise to create international partnerships (2006:5)

The UK creative sector ... is already a global leader (2006:14)

These confident statements appear unquestionable, providing no room for doubt about the calibre of the sectors and their ability to contribute to the cooperation and prosperity of the nation. In terms of cooperation, the subtext here is very much a case of 'others' wanting to be part of the British 'scene'. In relation to competition, the suggestion is that being 'the best' puts the country in a position of strength, and in turn, others want to be part of this, thus contributing to economic growth.

The word 'best' is used twelve times within the strategy and 'excellent'/'excellence' features fourteen times. There are also a number of favourable collocations such as 'Britain's international prestige' (2006:4), 'Britain's prestige abroad' (2006:8) and 'British talent' (2006:3). The 'UK' was also found to feature in the same sentence as 'excellence' seven times. The word 'best' occurred in the same sentence as 'UK' or 'Britain' nine times. The message here is that the DCMS's sectors are spearheading the nation's excellence and this is recognised by the rest of the world. In other words, the document is implicitly arguing that the DCMS requires funding for its sectors to continue their vital work. Within this, the department is demonstrating its need for funding to allow it to continue undertaking the work that it is already successfully doing. In addition, it could be argued that if the Government wants to retain this position of world excellence, it needs to continue to invest in the sectors and moreover, in the department that facilitates this work.

Arts Council England's *International Policy*

The analysis of ACE's *International Policy* revealed a number of overarching themes - 'lack of confidence', 'partnerships', 'instrumentalism', 'artist-centred' and 'existing policies'. These are shown in the final thematic map in figure 3. The methodological workings can be found in Appendix Two, showing the analytic process up to this point. The themes featured in the map, derived from the document, are now explained and discussed in detail.

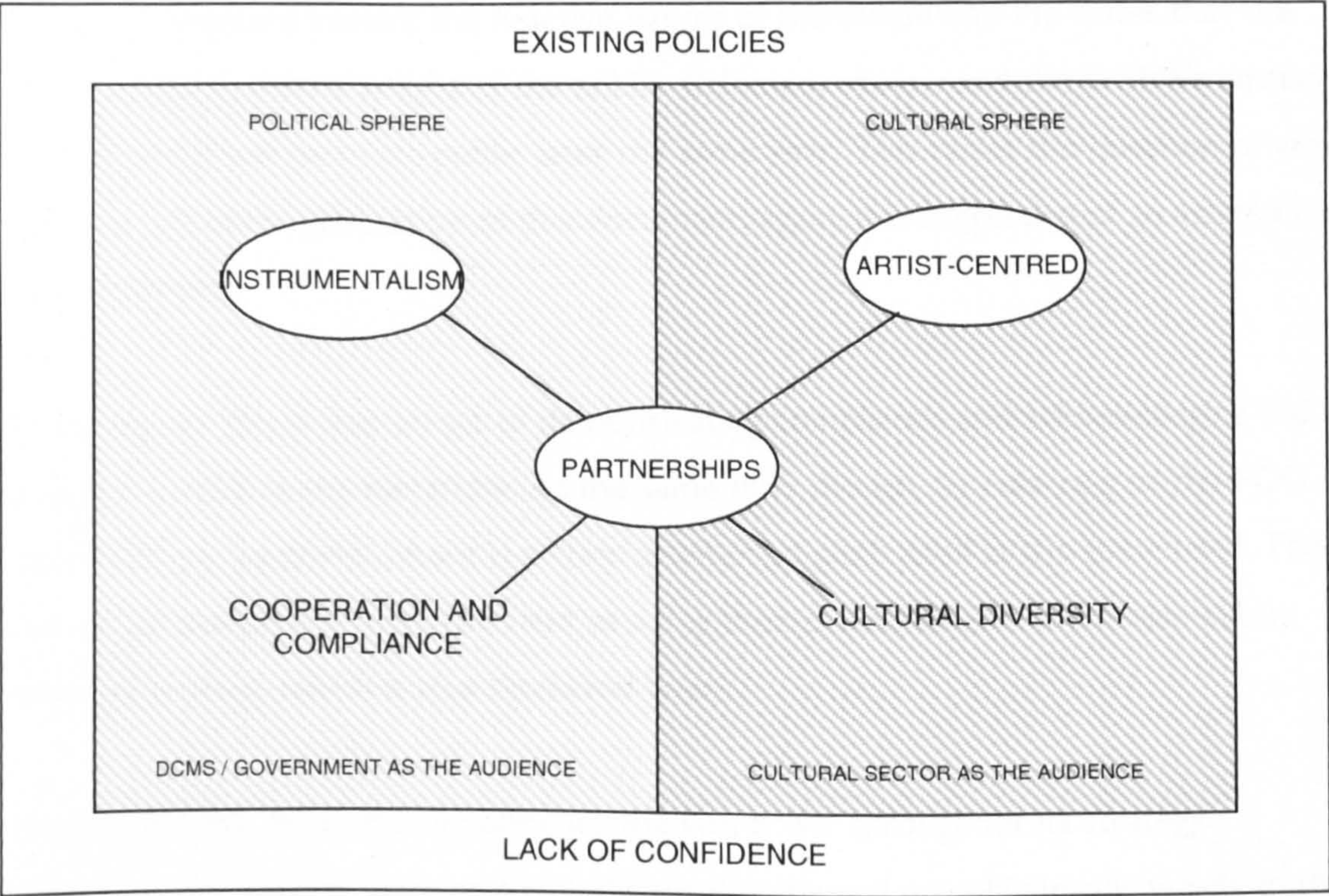


Figure 3 – Final Thematic Map of ACE's *International Policy*

Lack of Confidence

There is an overall tone within the document that suggests a lack of confidence. For example, in his foreword, the former Chairman, Christopher Frayling states:

We recognise that we will need to approach other countries and cultures from a position of humility - we have so much to learn and, we hope, just as much to share ... I'm aware that we are publishing our international policy at a time when a number of people are calling for a cultural foreign policy and other bodies are defining their own international priorities international priorities. On behalf of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Treasury, Lord Carter of Coles is leading a review of public diplomacy work – the UK's efforts to promote a positive image overseas. He is due to report later in the summer and this will be followed by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's own international strategy later in the year. We will revisit our own policy in light of this work. Both these departments are important partners in realising our own ambitions (2005:2-3)

This is a timid start to the policy. The quote discusses the need for the development of a foreign cultural policy and mentions requests from a 'number of people'. This raises the question of whether ACE was involved in these discussions. It may suggest that ACE is responding to criticism and that the policy is an attempt to gain control.

Frayling's foreword reveals the reactive nature of the document. He states that the policy will be revisited in light of the public diplomacy review and the DCMS's strategy, both of which will be made public later the same year. This raises the question of why ACE did not delay publication of this document; again, it is suggestive of an attempt to assert control.

Following on, this is also an act of demonstrating compliance and acknowledging the position of ACE in the hierarchy. At the same time though, by referring to the FCO and DCMS as 'partners', there is a clear attempt to pitch itself at the same level. This idea of partnerships is explored next as a key theme. Instrumentalism is also subtly referred to here, which is also discussed later.

Like the DCMS, ACE strategically uses the word 'we' throughout its strategy. However, it is used to refer to the audience directly and unambiguously, which, in this case appears to be the Government as well as the cultural sector. The different usages of 'we' are interesting. The use of 'we hope' seems to imply tentativeness, positioning ACE as a 'learning organisation', in marked contrast to the assertions of the DCMS, which sought to demonstrate the significant contribution that the department makes.

There is a further application of the word 'we' in ACE's *International Policy*. The phrase 'we will' appears 53 times throughout the document. Whilst this is a purposeful statement of resolution, it has a more determined tone and is different from 'we plan to', for example. It is aspirational and reveals that ACE does not do these things presently. However, at the same time, it is a kind of pledge to commit to future activity. There are a number of other similar pledges, such as:

Between 2003 and 2006 we are investing £2 billion of public finds [sic] in the arts ... This is the bedrock of support for the arts in England (2005:cover page)

The choice of the word 'bedrock' is of further interest, with its connotation of solidity and strength.

In a similar vein to the DCMS's strategy, the document uses 'we' to appear authoritative and express solidarity and cooperation with its audience, for example:

As we all know, the arts play a very important role internationally, across borders. They are powerful contributors to culture, and they contribute to the success of the economy and the creative industries (2005:2)

The use of the phrase 'as we all know' addresses the reader directly and is based on assumed knowledge (McKee, 2003). By structuring the sentence in this way, there is an assumption that the reader agrees with this view. If the audience does not agree, it nevertheless acts to unite both author and reader. Regardless of the opinion of the audience, this statement is strong and unquestioning. As a bold declaration, it stands out in the somewhat tentative introduction.

Partnerships

A significant proportion of the document refers to partnerships, with the words 'partner' and 'partnerships' appearing 27 times. Section two of the report is entitled *Carrying out our international policy* and of the 447 words contained in this section, 241 refer specifically to partnerships. As such, partnership building is a key theme. However, little actual information is actually provided about what partnerships will be formed, and with which organisations and individuals. Despite this, partnership working has entirely wholesome connotations, suggesting collaboration, connections and networking, which in turn are redolent of strength and cooperation.

A similar lack of operational detail was observed in the DCMS's document. However, in the case of this policy, there may be a logical explanation. This document was published in June 2005, 16 months prior to the publication of the DCMS's *International Strategy*. Since it preceded the DCMS's strategy, it was written in a vacuum and it would probably not have been possible to provide further details about practical implementation such as the budget, funding allocations, criteria for support, geographical and thematic priorities and so on. Whether the DCMS's document was informed by ACE's policy is not known. However, as was noted earlier, it is difficult not to read this early publication as a strategic move. The result of this vacuum is that the policy cannot act as a working document. At one point, the text reads:

our international policy ... builds on the best of past practice and provides a national framework within which our regional offices have the flexibility to respond to regional strategies and opportunities (2005:5)

There are a number of points here. Firstly, there is an emphasis on the regions and their strategies, which suggests a confidence in working practices and alludes to the idea of a systemised and strategic organisation. Secondly, there is an openness and trust here, that ACE is comfortable with allowing its devolved regions to make their own decisions, based on their local priorities. Whilst this lack of prescription is noteworthy, it also raises questions about what guidance is available for the regions and furthermore, how the regions can ensure that their work is tied to wider political priorities. So whilst this is encouraging in one sense, it is impossible to envisage how the policy will be implemented on a practical level. This issue is further explored later in the chapter. Finally, in the quote, there is a mention of 'the best of past practice'. This is a method of demonstrating that there is some history to international practice and ACE is already supporting this kind of work. Whilst similar to the DCMS's strategy in this way, it is less bold. This subtlety can be observed at a number of points throughout the policy. For example, the front cover features a painting by artist Paula Kane. The inside cover then explains that Kane spent six months in Belgium as part of an ACE fellowship programme, working with the local municipality and the art school. Like the DCMS, this is a method of demonstrating that ACE is already working internationally.

The document appears to have a dual audience, with distinct messages for both the cultural sector and the DCMS/Government. The theme 'partnership' can be seen to demonstrate this dual purpose. The document aims to show a commitment to Government through being compliant, capable and willing to contribute to wider political objectives. Simultaneously, it also pledges to support the cultural sector through its continuous funding of projects. In places, the document could be interpreted as addressing both audiences at the same time but with separate messages, for example:

We recognise that international working can be expensive and that we will only be able to support relatively few large-scale international projects each year (2005:7)

Here, ACE clearly states that there are limited resources available for international work. It may also be anticipating a potential friction between the domestic arts scene and the international environment. I was alerted to this idea when conducting the literature review for this study. I came across an article by Wajid on cultural diplomacy, where this conflict was referred to. The author quotes Jack Lohman, director of the Museum of London, who explains that regional obligations must not be neglected over international work: 'I can't send stuff out that hasn't been seen here yet' (Wajid, 2007:11).

The policy could be highlighting this potential issue. Again, there is no other information about funding, criteria, grants, priorities, which makes it impossible for the policy to provide any definitive detail. This would make writing a policy document particularly difficult, again, raising the question of why ACE did not delay its publication. At the same time, all ACE can do is have an openness and lack of prescription in its approach to internationalism, instead allowing the cultural sector to interpret ACE's agenda as it sees fit.

There are a number of clichés in the document. The phrase 'state of mind' appears three times and 'at the heart of' seven times, which seems excessive for a document of nineteen pages. This could be seen perhaps as a strategy to assert key beliefs and to reassure the cultural sector of its ongoing commitment. However, these clichés are noticeable because they appear out of place, especially within the context of an official document. Furthermore, they have no precise meaning, for example:

Putting 'international' at the heart of what we do (2005:2)

We believe that international is a state of mind (2005:3)

Place cultural diversity at the heart of our work (2005:5)

The way in which ACE pledges to forge partnerships demonstrates its compliance with central Government. Whilst it lacks detail, it repeatedly refers to partnerships with the DCMS, British Council and the FCO. The policy aims to 'complement the strategies of

other key partners and agencies' (2005:5), again providing a nod towards instrumentalism, with ACE seeking to connect with wider political objectives.

Instrumentalism

Instrumentalism is implied at several points throughout the document, a number of which have already been mentioned. The first instance is in the boilerplate which features on the inside cover:

We believe that the arts have the power to transform lives and communities, and to create opportunities for people throughout the country (2005:cover page)

This sets the tone for the document. Next in the sequence is Frayling's foreword, which is ingrained with notions of instrumentalism. In the earlier quote, Frayling is unequivocal about ACE revisiting its policy in light of other developments in this area. This is a clear intention to demonstrate compliance and commitment to the Government. It is addressing the DCMS here, recognising its place in the hierarchy, rather than communicating with the cultural sector.

Frayling states that the arts contribute to the success of the economy and the creative industries. Similarly to the DCMS's document, there is an attempt to recognise the role of ACE, an example being:

We will develop strategic international partnerships that have depth and sustainability. We will use them not only to support artists but to focus on and promote the role of the arts in the regeneration of cities and city regions (2005:5)

This suggests that ACE can satisfy both its audiences, with the funding of artists and arts organisations leading to broader instrumental objectives. The two-way argument, as discussed in Chapter Two, can also be observed here. This adds to the sense of a dual audience for the document. The policy again makes clear its instrumental aspirations in its relationship with the cultural sector when it comes to financial support. It reads:

Our international policy will be grounded in an understanding of the international work of other bodies [DCMS, FCO and British Council] ... We will ensure that where

we fund international agencies we do so with a shared understanding of the role they play in achieving our international policy (2005:6)

This demonstrates unmistakably instrumental intent. ACE emphasises the importance of ensuring that those funded by it align themselves with its goals. Crucially, ACE clearly affiliates itself with the wider political goals of Government. The choice of words is noteworthy, with 'grounded' suggesting strength and clarity. 'Our international policy' is also repeated, making it appear solid and definitive.

The non-prescriptive nature of the policy is imbued throughout and has been touched upon previously. Statements such as 'we will be open to including newer producers and promoters who wish to embark on international programming' (2005:10), exemplify the open, rather optional, nature of the policy. Another quote demonstrating this point is:

While not every artist or every arts organisation will choose to respond to an international agenda our international policy is intended to embrace work on all scales and in all parts of the country (2005:5)

This shows the non-prescriptive character of the document, instead allowing for interpretation at an artistic level. Whilst it has been demonstrated that ACE is seeking greater instrumentalism, there remains a non-prescriptive or non-directive stance. Whether this openness will carry through to its practical application is unclear. However, the published literature on instrumentalism asserted its incompatibility with notions of openness and a lack of prescription.

Artist-centred and Existing Policies

The purpose of ACE is to support the arts in England. This raises the question, then, of why ACE published an international policy. Besides this, the document appears to repeatedly assert the core purpose of the organisation. Page eight states:

Our international policy is artist-centred (2005:8)

These five words form a single paragraph as a definitive statement. This notion of being 'artist-centred' repeatedly comes across, for example:

Artists have long been pioneers, exploring the boundaries between cultures, erasing the boundaries between artforms, developing practice and finding new means of expression ... One of the roles of the artist is to enable us to experience other cultures and other ways of seeing the world. Through art can come the personal experience and exchange that leads to deeper understanding and cooperation (2005:4)

This notion of the artist as teacher and explorer echoes the words of John Maynard Keynes, who was fundamental to the inception and development of ACE (formerly (Arts Council of Great Britain). He famously said:

The work of the artist in all its aspects is, of its nature, individual and free, undisciplined, unregimented, uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him. He cannot be told his direction; he does not know it himself. But he leads the rest of us into fresh pastures and teaches us to love and to enjoy what we often begin by rejecting, enlarging our sensibility and purifying our instincts (1946:21)

Statements such as this show a great respect for and understanding of artists and their work. The policy repeatedly makes a similar point, for example, on page eight, it says:

we will also support the research and development process ('go see' and 'go think') which is often invisible and undervalued (2005:8)

This reads as reassurance for artists and an understanding of what is important to them in undertaking their work. At the same time, there is a sense that although this is ACE's *International Policy*, nothing will actually change in practice. This is due to an emphasis on existing ACE policies, which appear to have been given an international slant or had an international dimension tagged onto them, for example:

We will enable artists and arts organisations to use an element of our funding for work outside England. (2005:2)

We currently have a number of mechanisms for supporting international working. These include:

- our Grants for the arts programme, which supports organisations, individuals and incoming touring*
- our revenue funding to organisations, many of whom work Internationally*
- a memorandum of understanding with the British Council*
- our cross-border touring agreement with other UK arts councils*

- *our strategic funds through which we support both one-off initiatives and longer-term programmes such as*
 - *our international fellowships programme for individual artists*
 - *partnerships with agencies such as the British Council with whom we have developed projects such as Artist Links, a two-way artists' exchange programme open to artists in England and China*
- (2005:7)

This suggests that ACE is not actually going to do anything differently. The subtext here is that ACE is already working internationally and its existing policies can be expanded to support international practice. It also makes reference to specific previous strategies to reiterate this point:

In Ambitions for the Arts 2003–2006 we said we would take a contemporary, international approach to the arts. We said we would promote our artists internationally, encourage international exchange and co-production, and do all we can to ensure that artists and audiences in this country benefit from the best of the arts from outside the UK (2005:6-7)

Furthermore, the document suggests a holistic and integrated approach to international work. At several points, ACE proposes that internationalism is inherent in everything it does, for example:

Its aim is not to set the international apart from the rest of our work, rather to include the international in everything we do (2005:4)

The domestic and international should not be seen as separate (2005:5)

If this was truly the case, then, it does not explain the need to publish the policy. In addition, at the time of this publication, 'internationalism' featured as a key priority of ACE (as well as the DCMS), raising the question of the requirement for a formalised written policy. As nothing will actually change as a result of the policy, apart from a broader remit for ACE, this suggests that its publication is political. It appears to be the act of producing the document that is significant, rather than the content. Its purpose seems to be to reassure the cultural sector that funding will continue in the same way and to demonstrate to the DCMS that it is already supporting such work, thus complying with the Government's international objectives. It communicates that the arts have a significant role to play and can contribute to political goals. Through the

inclusion of existing policies, ACE is showing itself to be competent *and* strategic. It also demonstrates a long-term approach which builds upon previous policies. For the cultural sector, ACE can be seen to be remaining true to its original artistic vision, continuing to support the sector and presenting new opportunities which expand the parameters of existing policy and encompass a new international dimension.

The British Museum's *International Strategy*

A number of themes were identified in the document – ‘public relations’, ‘advocacy’, ‘cultural relations’, cultural diversity’, ‘commercialism’ and ‘cultural diplomacy’. The diagram below in figure 4 shows the final thematic map from this analysis and the methodological workings in Appendix Two demonstrate how I got to this point. The themes featured in the map, derived from the document, are now explained and discussed in detail.

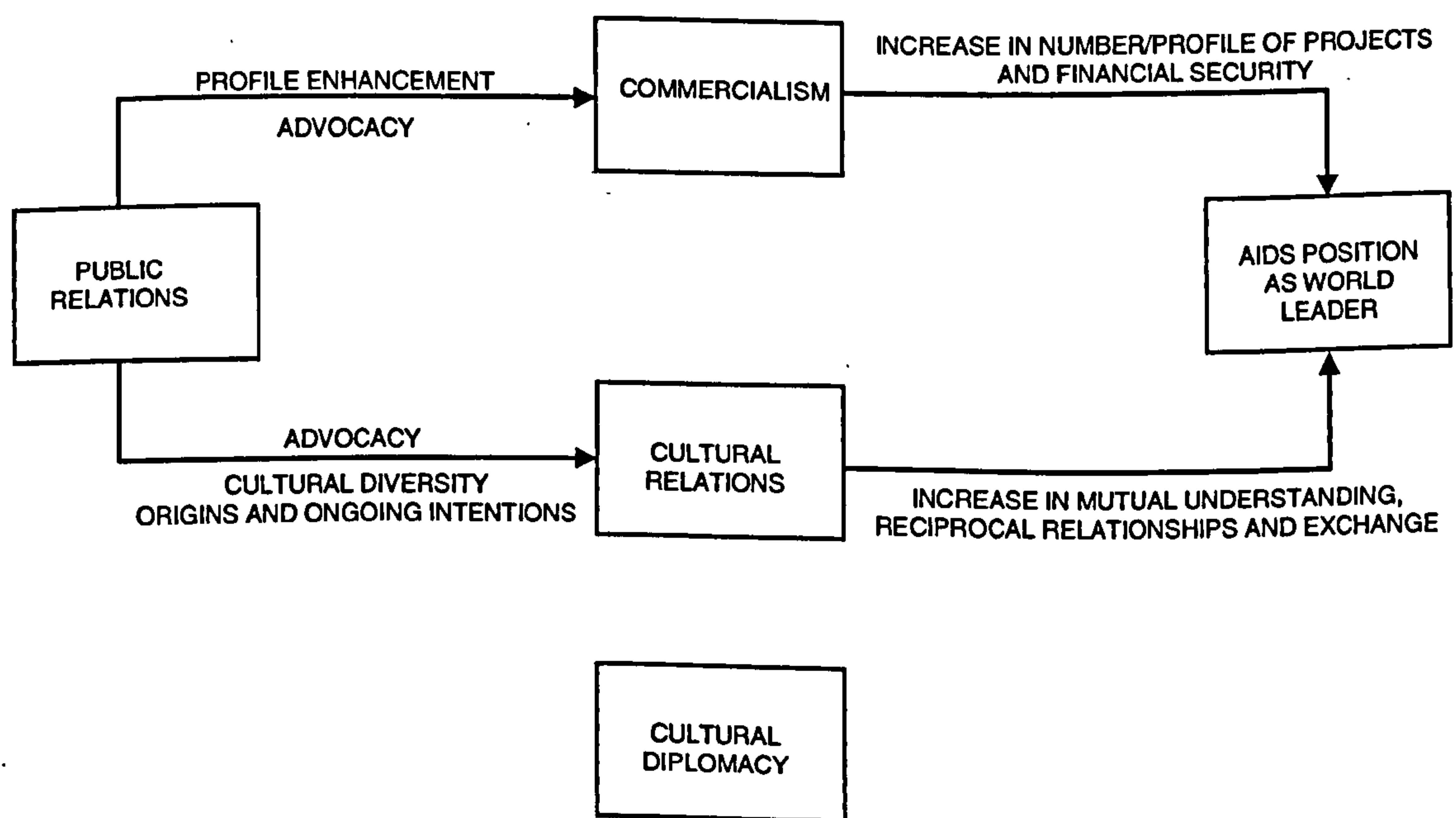


Figure 4 – Final Thematic Map of the British Museum's *International Strategy*

Public Relations and Advocacy

The document opens by discussing the Museum's vision and purpose, emphasising that it has always had an 'international vision' (2006:1). It quotes Sir Hans Sloane, whose collection of antiquities, coins and other objects became the early collection of the Museum. Sloane's purpose was that his collection should be for the 'improvement,

knowledge, and information of all persons' (2006:1). The intentions of the Museum's first director, Gowin Knight, are also revealed in this opening paragraph:

The principal intention in founding the British Museum is for the use of learned and studious men, as well natives as foreign (2006:1)

The document continues by stating that the Museum's trustees, who are 'an increasingly diverse body' (2006:1), wish to work 'in this spirit' (2006:1) and deliver on these intentions, referring to them as 'international stewards' (2006:1). This provides a sense of responsibility, with the trustees seen as custodians of the collection, aspiring to build upon the strong foundations of the organisation and deliver on its original objectives. For example:

In this spirit, the Museum's trustees ... are now seeking new ways to make a reality of their international stewardship of the collection (2006:1)

Focussing on worldwide public benefit: stewardship and trustees (2006:1)

The word 'stewardship' conveys that the Museum has a duty in protecting the artefacts of global significance and in ensuring that the public have improved and enhanced access to these works.

The final paragraph in this section centres on the Museum's ethos. It states that the variety of cultural traditions represented in the collection provide opportunities for partnership working, with the objective of sharing its knowledge internationally and learning 'from its partners in the process' (2006:1).

The points covered in this opening section are key to understanding the document. By beginning with the original mission, it sends out a clear message that the Museum remains true to its founding purpose, or wishes to be seen as true to its original mission. The subtext here is that the culture and philosophy of the organisation has not changed, that its outlook has always been international and that the work of the Museum is more relevant today than it has ever been. It also strongly communicates its viewpoint on cultural diversity – again that this is inherent within the organisation,

from its origins to its present manifestation and through to its future aspirations to 'learn from its partners'. However, instead of this being the Museum remaining true to its historical mission, rather it appears more like a strategic reinterpretation of the original values. For example, the term 'stewardship' originally had a very different meaning. Stewardship was historically important because the Museum had a responsibility to protect the artefacts from being ravaged in their original locations, such as the infamous Parthenon friezes. Therefore, instead of actively being true to its roots, it could be argued that the Museum has reinterpreted its original mission in order to bring it more closely in line with the Government's desire for international work.

Public relations is essentially about managing the reputation of organisations, raising awareness of them, communicating their key messages, enhancing their profiles and affirming their position in the marketplace. Public understanding is generated through activity such as advocacy, to influence people and ultimately affect their opinions and actions. Advocacy is both directly referred to and alluded to in the document, for example:

The Museum needs to consider the need for advocacy on an international stage more broadly, so that people know that the British Museum exists, understand what it is, and appreciate what it seeks to represent (2006:2)

Need to include and stimulate international and UK voices contributing to discussion both about the BM [British Museum] itself and the ideas which it seeks to promote about inter-cultural understanding (2006:6)

Advocacy aims to influence the opinions and actions of people, and so the Museum's audiences are essential in realising its international objectives. Therefore, the public features prominently in the strategy. The document makes several references to audience-led approaches, for example, 'extending engagement' (2006:1), increasing 'public support at home and abroad for the Museum's international position and activities' (2006:2), 'gaining and sharing knowledge for worldwide public benefit' (2006:5), coherent 'community based approaches' (2006:6), 'focussing on worldwide public benefit' (2006:7) and 'nurturing public debate about shared cultural inheritances' (2006:7). It is also interesting to note the positive and optimistic collocations of the

word 'public' with 'benefit', 'understanding', 'nurturing' and 'interest', all leading to favourable associations being formed by the reader. These aim to unite the audience and the organisation.

Cultural Diversity and Cultural Relations

The document is unequivocal in its intentions regarding cultural diversity. First mentioned in the opening section, cultural diversity is an intrinsic element of the Museum's ethos and is reflected in everything from its historical collection to the recruitment of its board members. The Museum's key messages centre on diversity and cultural relations, underpinned by partnerships, learning and understanding. There are many examples of cultural diversity, such as:

In many parts of the world whose cultural traditions are well represented in the collection and where the Museum has had a long engagement, there are opportunities to contribute to the enhancement of cultural sectors by working in partnership (2006:1)

A significant proportion of the document relates to cultural relations. The first mention of this appears on the first page, within the section about the Museum's vision and purpose:

It is an important aspect of the Museum's ethos to share its knowledge internationally and to learn from its partners in the process (2006:1)

The words 'share' and 'learn' in this quote confirm the definition of cultural relations as focusing on mutual exchange and understanding. This follows more detail on the Museum's need for an international strategy:

There is a need to prioritise certain global territories where there are opportunities to create new relationships for the benefit of the Museum, its partners, and their worldwide publics. Working in international partnerships serves to further inter-cultural understanding, and improves cultural relationships between institutions and their publics (2006:1)

This statement is about cultural relations, based on cultural diversity. It centres on fostering cultural understanding within the institution's publics and generating mutual understanding. Ultimately though, it is about positioning the Museum.

One section within the strategy entitled *The Approach* contains information on practical action. The information provided is purely based on cultural relations:

The Museum seeks to build relationships on a basis of reciprocity through the mutual sharing of collections and skills with partners in our priority areas. We will, wherever possible, establish programmes of professional exchanges and international loans, for public and/or commercial purposes as appropriate, with our international partners (2006:2)

This leads on to three principal outcomes which form the objectives of the strategy. Whilst these objectives are all, again, ultimately about positioning the Museum, the first specifically relates to cultural relations and addresses the need for 'gaining and sharing knowledge for worldwide public benefit' (2006:2).

The document is interspersed with the buzzwords of cultural relations - 'share', 'exchange', 'learn', 'mutual' and 'reciprocal'. These key terms are integrated into the work and approach of the Museum. Many points within the strategy indicate the Museum's aspirations towards cultural relations. The document makes reference to 'opportunities for knowledge ... in both directions' (2006:3); '[the] need to evaluate exchanges individually and as a whole against the criteria of mutuality (i.e. that both BM [British Museum] and partners gain from the experience)' (2006:4) and 'ensure the resulting projects [sic] truly collaborative and promotes the international strategy's vision of international cooperation and many voices contributing to academic debate' (2006:5). The Museum aspires to cultural relations based on reciprocity and exchange, rather than on one-way benefit. However, at the same time, this is not a selfless act, as the strategy is geared towards aiding the Museum to establish and maintain its position as a world leader.

Commercialism

At the beginning of the strategy, 'commercialism' is communicated as a priority, but one that the Museum seems tentative about. However, at around the midpoint the document, becomes dominated by commercial intent. The final section of the text is devoted to income generation, through various strategies including fundraising, touring exhibitions and the maximisation of commercial activities.

Page two of the document discusses the Museum's need to 'look internationally to support its business strategy' (2006:2). It goes on:

[there are] clear opportunities for fundraising and commercial ventures outside Britain which the Museum needs to secure in order to support its core operating model, to build for the future, and to support its vision of increased international outreach (2006:2)

So the Museum has identified a number of commercial opportunities that exist outside of the UK. Income generation and commercial activities are essential for the Museum to establish and maintain its position as a world leader. A key objective within the strategy focuses on generating more income through 'international fundraising', 'commercial activities abroad' and the 'UK government and relevant international agencies' (2006:2).

Priority geographical areas are also defined: Africa, the Middle East and China. East Asia and North America are noted as areas for potential commercial development. These coincide with the geographical focuses of the FCO. These priority areas for the Museum relate to 'opportunities for knowledge and capacity gains in both directions' and the need to shape 'worldwide public understanding of the cultural history and traditions of a particular area' (2006:3). Therefore, we can observe that this is about positioning, through commercialism and cultural relations.

Later in the document, we begin to get a sense of how these objectives will be addressed on a practical level. For example, a 'summer school' (2006:4) initiative is discussed in terms of generating income. The need to source 'external funding for future exchange programmes' (2006:4) is also broached. The necessity to involve

relevant funding councils is emphasised and the vital need for a fundraising campaign to support the strategy is discussed. Pages seven to nine are dominated by a discussion about generating funds. More detail is provided here, for example, opportunities are identified for sponsorship fundraising and touring commercial exhibitions in East Asia. This is linked to 'high-spending inward tourism to [the] UK' (2006:7). North America is believed to be fruitful for fundraising through merchandising and sponsorship. Touring exhibitions are discussed as a way to 'make money and raise profile internationally, to create goodwill, and to stimulate future British Museum visits from high spending regions' (2006:8). The commercial intentions of the strategy become increasingly explicit as the document continues. Practical strategies for accessing public sector funding opportunities are also outlined, including improving the Museum's network across Government via individual contacts and involvement with the think-tank Demos. Other action points within the strategy include the development of 'a professional business model for in-bound and out-bound loans that maximise opportunities for sales and licensing of merchandise and other publications' (2006:9), which will be achieved through developing 'relationships with retailers, distributors, broadcasters, publishers and manufacturers to exploit its potential' (2006:9).

More pointedly, there appears to be a tension between cultural diplomacy and commercialism, for example:

With its network of partner Museums in key territories, the Museum is seeking to develop a programme of 'diplomatic' (i.e. not primarily commercial) loans (2006:4-5)

Need to take a view on how many international loans shows, commercial and diplomatic, BM [British Museum] is capable of sustaining (2006:5)

Furthermore, there are several points where this tension becomes manifest, for example:

Need to be clear about motivations, priorities and benefits region by region, case by case: diplomacy versus commerce (2006:5)

Greater clarity needed over commercial versus diplomatic drivers (2006:8)

The first two quotes above suggest that if the Museum agrees to diplomatic loans, it is sacrificing potential income generation through commercial opportunities. This raises the question of why the Museum would opt for diplomatic loans, unless there was some benefit. The latter two quotes suggest that activity can either be 'commercial' or 'diplomatic', and that the two are incompatible, with diplomacy viewed as an alternative to commercialism, rather than as a complementary or concurrent activity. The word 'versus' emphasises this sense of friction.

Cultural Diplomacy

This tension between commercialism and diplomacy is complex. The Museum receives funding directly from the Government to undertake international work but it is not clear whether any criteria or prescribed outcomes are attached. Cultural diplomacy in the strategy appears as something that the Museum *should* do, rather than something it *wants* to do. The Museum's director Neil MacGregor does not use the term 'cultural diplomacy', due to its misleading connotations, as Bailey reports:

The problem is that many regard 'diplomacy' as the particular policies of a particular government ... he sees the responsibility of Museums as quite different - fostering international cultural exchange as an end in itself (Bailey, 2007:26)

If cultural diplomacy is merely cultural exchange, this raises the question of why the Museum differentiates between diplomacy and commercialism. This leads to further confusion as the strategy also makes reference to the dangers of being seen as too close to Government:

Risk of compromising arms-length relationship with government to detriment of our independence internationally (2006:6)

This is the instrumental dilemma. It does not suggest a resistance to working with the Government, but rather raises concerns about the possible risks or disadvantages of overtly contributing to political objectives. This is made more complex by the later assertion that the Museum is seeking to create more relationships with Government, Demos and the EU. The document further registers an unevenness in the contacts formed across Government, beyond the DCMS. Therefore, the Museum is directly

looking for greater connections with Government more generally. At the same time, it is aware of the potential threat to its independence by increased integration. By broaching this threat to the arm's length principle, the document resists diplomacy being politically, rather than culturally or artistically motivated. Politically driven projects are approached with caution, rather than fully embraced. The obligation to undertake diplomatic work is not admitted.

Conclusions

I began the document analysis with the DCMS's *International Strategy* as I had hoped to gain a comprehensive understanding of the policy which, I expected, would underpin all international activity in the funded cultural sector. However, I found that this document was not a blueprint for action, but rather an assertion of the value of the DCMS to Government. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the DCMS was seeking to align itself with the priorities of another Government department, the FCO.

I then turned to ACE's *International Policy* and drew parallel conclusions. This time though, the ACE appeared to be speaking to the DCMS but likewise was accepting greater instrumentalism. This document also appeared to be directed towards the cultural sector, emphasising that its existing support would continue and that opportunities would arise from this new focus on internationalism.

The British Museum's *International Strategy* is about raising its profile further through generating income to achieve financial security and prosperity, enhancing public understanding of its work and increasing public support through cultural relations. Ultimately, the strategy is about strengthening the Museum's position as a world-leading cultural institution. In stark contrast to the other two analyses, the Museum's strategy is an actual working document. Its objectives are clearly laid out, there are action plans for achieving these goals, as well as a number of potential issues to address. Because the British Museum is an organisation that deals directly with art, this is perhaps to be expected.

The British Museum is the custodian of a globally significant collection, therefore, it is inherently more secure. Already perceived as an international treasure house, it has a

great deal of public value. ACE and the DCMS, by comparison, have little public value. The ACE was a social democratic project created just over 60 years ago and the DCMS was a result of the New Labour restructuring in 1997. Neither of these have the historical and cultural significance that the British Museum enjoys. Nevertheless, the findings from the three separate analyses do allow overall conclusions to be drawn across the data set.

In order to draw these conclusions, I conducted a simple compare and contrast exercise, the details of which can be found in Appendix Two. This helped me to identify a number of striking parallels between the three documents, despite their very different origins.

Recognising these fundamental differences between the organisations is essential in order to understand the 'form and function of texts' (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011:90). Indeed, the previous chapter proposed documents as 'organisational constructions' in terms of *doing* things, as well as *containing* things (Prior, 2008). This aspect was emphasised by a number of authors. Atkinson and Coffey discuss documents in terms of how they 'construct their own kinds of reality' (2011:90) and how 'organisations represent themselves collectively to themselves and to others through the construction of documents' (2011:78). They continue, 'we have to approach documents for what they are and what they are used to accomplish' (2011:79). With this in mind, I argue that the documents analysed are rationalisations for the protection, survival and growth of the organisations that have authored them. All three organisations make similar strategic use of the documents. This final section explains and elaborates on this theory. It is based on three key points - the strategic nature of the documents, instrumentalism and policy implications.

The Strategic Nature of the Documents

Despite the DCMS and ACE's documents being freely available for download on their respective websites and therefore fully transparent and accessible, it is evident that the audiences are not taken to be the general public. Whilst ACE's document states that it is artist-centred, it has a dual audience, strongly acknowledging its relationship with the DCMS and its desire to contribute towards the Government's political objectives. The

audience for the British Museum's strategy was the organisation's staff, as well as the Government, a key funding body of the institution.

In the DCMS's document, the importance of language was observed with the consistent yet unclear use of the words 'we' and 'our'. Linguist Norman Fairclough's commentary on this topic is pertinent here, proposing this ambiguous usage as a classic New Labour rhetorical device. Fairclough explains that 'we' is used both 'inclusively' to refer to Britain or the British people as a whole, as well as 'exclusively' to refer to the Government. New Labour speeches typically slip between the two uses and 'we' is sometimes left vague so the audience is unsure whether it is being used inclusively or exclusively:

This ambivalence is politically advantageous for a government that wants to represent itself as speaking for the whole nation ... playing on the ambivalence of we is commonplace in politics (2000:35-36)

And so the effect of this is that the DCMS is speaking for the nation as a whole, a unified entity. This notion of possession not only takes responsibility for the work of the sectors but, in the context of this strategy, takes credit for their work. A significant proportion of the document is an acclamation of the organisation itself. If these achievements of the sectors can be shown to contribute to the fulfilment of Government objectives, it justifies its existence as a department.

ACE's policy addressed the reader directly and unambiguously, attempting from the very beginning to get the audience 'on side' by employing modal phrases and verbs such as 'as we all know' and 'we will'. Gray comments upon the use of the word 'will' (by the DCMS) as a 'mantra rather than a clear set of organizationally and operationally achievable objectives' (2008:215). This perhaps gives a sense of 'going through the motions' rather than decisive action. However, its function is to demonstrate competence and purpose, hinting at a commitment to future activity and rationalising its role. These linguistic examples demonstrate the desire of the organisations to align themselves with their audiences.

Essentially, these documents are 'displays', communicating issues around hierarchy and status, and using internationalism indirectly to support their position in the chain of command. They are about self-interest and the format of the document merely acts as a conduit to facilitate the transference of these key messages. As a collective body of data, the documents can be seen to jostle for position. This leads onto issues around power, concerning which organisations actually have influence and hold authority.

Traditionally, the 'centre', that is, the Government, is seen to hold the power, which then filters down to the 'periphery', for example, the cultural sector. However, within these documents, it can be observed that the power is not held at the core. This was touched upon in the previous discussion about cultural significance and value. The British Museum holds more power than ACE and the DCMS due to its position as an international treasure house. This is based on the strength of its collection and its potential to create a positive impact on a global scale. The Museum has recently celebrated its 250th anniversary and is now regarded as one of the world's leading cultural organisations. In contrast, ACE and the DCMS could feasibly be disbanded or abolished, and be replaced by alternative organisations and structures.

These findings suggest that these documents, apparently about international strategy and policy, are actually tools for the self-protection, growth and more fundamentally, the survival of the organisations concerned, as opposed to the operational action plans that they first appear or are assumed to be. The documents have an ulterior purpose beyond their stated intentions which bear little relationship to formal policy.

Complexity within Instrumentalism

This leaves open the significance of instrumentalism as, in these documents, it has become a method for showing compliance. Instrumentalism has been used previously by cultural policy studies as a means of understanding the motivations behind policy. As was observed in the literature review, the published work focuses on the detrimental effect of instrumentalism upon cultural organisations and the resistance of the sector towards it. All three organisations seek to comply with Government and express a wish for a stronger relationship with it. The DCMS looks to the FCO, and ACE and the British Museum, in turn, look to the DCMS.

This need to comply occurs all the way up the chain of command, including *within* the Government itself. This distinction shows a further departure from the published literature, which not only states that instrumental policies are imposed by the Government onto the cultural sector but assumes that there will be resistance. This fails to acknowledge that instrumentalist attitudes are accepted.

The British Museum's document strategically uses its historical roots to capitalise on priority funding streams. It identifies geographical areas of priority, which tally with those of the DCMS and, in turn, the FCO, hence the subsequent legitimacy to tap into newly available funding streams. There are many points of correlation between the British Museum's document and that of the DCMS including direct statements about the organisation's desire to work more closely with Government. Considering that the strategy was published in December 2006, two months after the publication of the DCMS's document, this begins to have greater resonance. The sequence and timing of these documents suggests that the Museum's strategy was informed by that of the DCMS. However, a causal link cannot be made without further evidence.

The DCMS's document begins by locating itself within the context of the FCO's priorities, hence explicitly demonstrating its reactive and instrumental nature. The DCMS attempts to demonstrate its alignment with the FCO and Government as a whole through statements which show its wholehearted support for the objectives of other departments. ACE adopts a similar approach in relation to the DCMS. These are clear acknowledgments of their places in the hierarchy. In terms of both the DCMS and ACE documents, the strategies are an acclamation of their work and an affirmation of their acquiescence with those at senior levels, as demonstrated through their need to communicate their contributions to wider political objectives and a commitment to their audience, the FCO and DCMS respectively. The strategies confirm that this 'cooperative' work will continue if their subsidy is maintained. The documents provide a rationale for the DCMS and ACE's funding and, ultimately, serve as justification of their existence. They set out their cases within the context of their strategies, through setting particular scenes – in the DCMS's case, through the difficulties that the country faces and through the powerful position and strength of the nation in undertaking these challenges. In fact, the DCMS constructs the problem, or rather, the issues that

need to be addressed, and then firmly places itself at the centre of the solution. In the case of the British Museum, whilst the approach taken is slightly different, the overall point remains consistent. The strategy is likewise an exercise in defending and strengthening the organisation, this time through self-aggrandisement, to communicate the power of the organisation and its collection, its founding commitment to international work and to articulate the necessity of commercialism as a key driver in the Museum's sustainability and development, in order to maintain its position as a cultural global leader.

ACE's *International Policy* preceded the other two documents, which may help to explain why it lacks operational detail. This makes it difficult for ACE, which has no information on budgets, funding criteria or other such details relating to internationalism. This, combined with the somewhat cautious tone, suggests that ACE may be attempting assert some control over the situation and to demonstrate competence, thus hinting at the complex power relations and interactions at work. This chapter argues that the policy is a political gesture to show the Government that it is compliant, competent and capable.

These analyses propose that there is something new or different occurring in relation to our prior understanding of instrumentalism. Currently, instrumental policies are perceived to be top-down and imposed, as suggested in Vestheim's definition. In this case, the organisations appear to seek greater compliance with instrumentalism. There may thus be greater nuances within instrumentalism than previously believed. There could be dimensions of instrumentalism or variations in its form, in contrast to the binary categorisation demonstrated in Chapter Two. Furthermore, instrumentalism may need to be further conceptualised if it is to be able to capture the subtlety shown here.

Policy Implications

The DCMS and ACE documents could be seen as reflections of FCO policy and consequently, have minimal impact in a policy sense. This provokes three specific questions. The first question is if cultural organisations are making concessions to instrumentalism, what benefits they are seeking. Second is the question about the

nature of policy and whether it should be underpinned by the specificities of the sector it represents or if it should merely echo what is occurring at senior levels. Third is the question that if policy in this area is driven largely by the FCO, what impact this has on cultural organisations and the artistic landscape more generally.

This finding is not new or unique. Gray (1996, 2002) has identified a connection between cultural policy and what is happening in other policy sectors. Quinn describes the Irish government's view that 'cultural policy is part of the nation's social policy' (1998:12). The author also states that in countries such as Austria and Norway, cultural policy is 'considered to be a continuation of social policy' (1998:12). Moss (2005) drew similar conclusions in her New Zealand case, which found that cultural policy reflected the country's social policy, which is geared towards redefining national identity. Craik et al (2003) found that Australian cultural policy is influenced by policy in other sectors. Johanson (2008) discovered that Australian cultural policy 'shadows' the nation's industry policy². Stevenson et al argue that British cultural policy is about capturing national identity or 'Britishness' (2010:251). This demonstrates that cultural policy is used strategically, mirroring other policy areas in several different nations.

The overarching question is what exactly is cultural policy and what *should* it be? If cultural policy is about reflecting other areas of policy and this 'mirroring' is well established, perhaps this is what cultural policy essentially is. If this is the case, as is widely recognised within cultural policy studies, why has there been such a fervent opposition to instrumentalism? Furthermore, if so, the debate on instrumentalism is rendered somewhat redundant. Finally, if policy attachment (Gray, 2002) is a standard, recurring and recognised feature of cultural policy, and those involved accept this version of instrumental objectives, then future policy focuses could be predicted and cultural policy-makers could strategically tap into emerging funding streams.

If cultural policy is merely a reflection of other areas, this calls into question the role and purpose of the DCMS. Gray and Wingfield's research (2010) into the relevance and importance of the DCMS concluded that it is relatively insignificant as a

² With thanks to Dr Clive Gray for drawing my attention to the parallels in Johanson's research.

Government department. This builds on Gray's previous work on the arts' lack of a political profile (2000; 2002; 2004). He argues that the arts have:

traditionally been dealt with by governments either reluctantly ... or at a low level of priority, with little money and even less enthusiasm ... A consequence of this is that they have become policy areas that are normally considered to be of little real importance or significance for not only national but also for local governments, with both policy areas being considered too peripheral to the 'real' business of government to merit much concern (2004:41)

As pointed out earlier, the British Museum is the custodian of a globally significant collection, which underpins the organisation's status. As an international treasure house of historical significance, it holds a great deal of cultural, social and economic capital and is thus highly valued by the widest general public. When compared to ACE and DCMS, this distinction becomes even more marked. If the DCMS is peripheral within UK politics, this could further lead to an increasing vulnerability of the cultural sector and the marginalisation of cultural policy. This would also impact upon the credibility and status of scholarly work, diminishing the faint yet perpetual hope that future research will feed into policy-making and that policy officials will begin to take note of academic research.

The DCMS and ACE analyses demonstrated that the policies were not actually working documents that guide action or provide information that supports practical application. Furthermore, they illustrated that the documents do not resemble operational strategies or policies at all. If written policies that pertain to 'internationalism' do exist, these are not they. Therefore, since internationalism was a Government priority at this time, there is a substantial amount of important practical detail that is unknown such as whether there is a funding stream attached to it and whether there are guidelines or criteria for its implementation. These findings suggest that either a written guide to action does not exist or that international policy is made and communicated in other ways.

This chapter centred on the analysis of three documents pertaining to internationalism. They were selected for analysis as they were believed to be statements about policy. However, the analyses have concluded that the documents are based on organisational

interests, determined by the interests of authority and the perceived needs of the audience. This raises a number of questions about the nature, purpose and impact of cultural policy and its making. This chapter has also demonstrated the need for a better understanding of instrumentalism. Following the document analyses, fifteen interviews were conducted with policy-makers, cultural practitioners and artists. The findings from the analysis of this second data set are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Interview Analysis

Introduction

This chapter is based on the data collected from fifteen interviews with policy-makers, arts managers and artists. The interview transcripts collectively totalled 130,931 words. Thematic analysis was again used due to the successful application of the technique on the previous data set, as described in Chapter Three and exemplified in Appendix Three.

The analytic procedure led to the identification of over 70 codes, which were refined into a number of overarching themes. Through further development of these themes, they were then clustered into the following three groups:

1. Policy and process
2. People and power
3. Documents and terms

Each group is exemplified by a case study, derived from the data and further supplemented by secondary material. Major findings which challenge accepted views are supportive by extensive evidence. Like the previous chapter, the discussion of each group begins with the presentation of the final thematic map from the analysis. At the end of the chapter, a series of conclusions is offered, which are extended in the next chapter, where the data sets are drawn together.

GROUP 1 - POLICY AND PROCESS

The case study for this group is the *World Collections Programme*, which is the basis of the Government's international policy. The interview data provided information on the formulation of the policy and offered new insights into key concepts within policy-making, notably instrumentalism. A number of issues are explored including the differences between theory and practice, the role of the cultural sector in policy-making and a new interpretation of instrumentalism.

At the beginning of the study, a hypothesis was formulated which connected the proliferation of international documents with the Government's intentions for the use of culture as a tool of diplomacy. The research set out to explore instrumental policies, their implementation and impact on the cultural sector and artistic activity.

Vestheim's definition of instrumental cultural policy is widely accepted. This can be observed by its consistent usage within cultural policy research. Chapter Two demonstrated how the published work on instrumentalism resists such policies on the basis of perceived negative impacts on art, as well on as the organisations and individuals working within the cultural sector. However, the findings from the interviews demonstrated a contrary interpretation, whereby a new instrumental policy was not only encouraged but engineered by the cultural sector itself. The case study elaborates and illustrates a number of key points about instrumentalism and its impact on policy-making and the arts. This is followed by the thematic map in figure 5, which shows the process visually, before a comprehensive discussion is provided.

CASE STUDY I - World Collections Programme

A selection of leading cultural organisations commissioned Demos to undertake a research project on cultural diplomacy. These institutions were the British Library, British Museum, Natural History Museum, Royal Botanical Gardens and V&A. These organisations initiated and funded this research, and a selection of senior staff members from across the institutions formed a steering group to advise and direct it. The study involved undertaking international fieldwork, travelling to China, Ethiopia, Norway, France, America and Iran to examine various approaches to cultural diplomacy. These countries were based on the recommendations of the steering group, who also suggested relevant case studies and interviewees. The group was also involved in writing up the research and the DCMS was consulted throughout this process.

The subsequent research publication, entitled *Cultural Diplomacy - Culture is a central component of international relations. It's time to unlock its full potential*, was launched at the V&A on 28 February 2007. The report argued that cultural organisations were

crucial to diplomatic work, in the broader landscape of international relations. It praised the work of the cultural organisations and recommended more investment be made in order to maximise the potential of cultural diplomacy (Bound *et al*, 2007).

At the time of the research, the cultural organisations involved also expressed an interest in contributing to the Government's objectives for international work. Following the launch of the research, it was cited by the institutions in their dialogue with Government about realising the international ambitions of both parties.

Shortly after its launch, the research was debated in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. In the latter, it was quoted six times and received wide praise for its recommendations. It was credited with heightening the realisation amongst politicians of the importance of culture within international relations, with all three political parties unanimous in agreeing that it needed attention. The Commons debate on 13 March 2007 was opened by MP Don Foster:

I am delighted to have secured this debate on the fundamental importance of cultural diplomacy in international relations. What more should we be doing? A few weeks ago, Demos produced the excellent report, 'Cultural Diplomacy'. Its authors argue that: 'today, more than ever before, culture has a vital role to play in international relations'. The report's subtitle makes the challenge clear: 'Culture is a central component of international relations. It's time to unlock its full potential'. That is right (House of Commons, 2007a)

Similarly, Ed Vaizey expressed similar sentiments:

The reason why cultural diplomacy is high on the agenda is the publication of the Demos pamphlet on the issue. I should like to take a few seconds to praise the work of John Holden and Demos. In the world of the policy work, it is probably the leading think-tank contributing to debates on culture (House of Commons, 2007c)

The House of Lords debate on 6 March 2007 began by asking representatives to respond to the research. Lord Triesman welcomed the report 'as a contribution to thinking on the role of culture in international relations' (House of Lords, 2007). Both debates paid tribute to the work of the cultural organisations, individually naming the V&A, British Museum and Tate. Lord Triesman stated:

a number of cultural organisations make an extraordinary contribution to our diplomatic effort; even if it is not always identified as being a diplomatic effort, it has that impact. The DCMS has taken a pivotal role in co-ordinating many of those organisations (House of Lords, 2007)

In the Commons debate, the former Minister for the Middle East, Kim Howells expressed similar support:

As we heard, we have outstanding assets in our cultural institutions ... All those offer channels through which we can conduct our public diplomacy ... The hon. Gentleman summed it up by saying that we have to use our cultural talents to build up our international prestige. That is true (House of Commons, 2007d)

These debates emphasised the need to 'maintain the investment' (House of Lords, 2007) in the arts and to ensure that adequate funding remains in place to support international cultural work. In the Commons debate, MP Mark Hunter pressed the issue of financial support:

In the light of the growing acceptance of the importance of cultural diplomacy, will the Minister confirm that efforts to promote it will remain integral to foreign policy strategy? (House of Commons, 2007c)

Hunter later appealed:

We need to support the institutions in their work and to ensure that enough funding is available and continues to be available for museums such as the British Museum ... Will the Minister confirm that funding for cultural institutions, and in particular for the international exchange of culture conducted by such institutions, is recognised as hugely important? Will he assure us that he is doing everything possible to protect the budget and, where possible, to increase it? (House of Commons, 2007c)

In the Lords debate, Lord Triesman stated: 'We will fight very hard to make sure that the funding remains in place' (House of Lords, 2007).

The Commons debate discussed the parameters of cultural work and the need to enable the organisations to make their own decisions. Foster stated:

We should advise the institutions of the countries that they should prioritise, help establish contacts and help them with funding and insurance problems, but we should manage neither their relationships nor the messages that they send out ... such work should reflect Britain, not the British Government. If we provide our cultural institutions with the opportunities, they will get on with the job (House of Commons, 2007b)

These feelings were echoed by Hunter and Vaizey, with the latter stating:

Although money needs to be invested in institutions that engage in cultural diplomacy, the Government cannot be prescriptive about how that money is spent or about the message that the institutions are supporting. They need to be seen to be independent, or we risk cultural exchange being mistaken for cultural imperialism and propaganda. Will the Minister confirm that any extra funding that might be given to such institutions in future will not be tied to specific targets that might limit their flexibility and status as institutions independent of Government objectives? (House of Commons, 2007c)

Hunter agreed:

The Government need to facilitate, not to direct, cultural diplomacy ... They also need to create a framework that allows the organisations that are involved to collaborate and to co-ordinate their activities (House of Commons, 2007c)

The research contributed to an awareness of cultural diplomacy as a political issue.

Vaizey stated: 'Parliament will debate cultural diplomacy more frequently' (House of Commons, 2007c). Hunter echoes this:

the debate ... introduced today is intended to place cultural policy firmly on the agenda and make it an integral part of what the foreign policy of this country ought to be (House of Commons, 2007c)

There is no further parliamentary discussion on the research or cultural diplomacy. The next significant official announcement was the creation of the *World Collections Programme (WCP)* on 1 April 2008. The WCP, funded by the DCMS, began on this date and is a three-year programme which awarded six leading cultural organisations a £3m grant, £1 million per year, to undertake work in Africa, The Middle East, India and China. The organisations that received this grant were the same institutions that commissioned the research, as well as the Tate. These countries correspond to the geographical priorities of the FCO. Beyond that, there is no further direction or

prescription, reflecting the content of the parliamentary discussions.

Despite little media coverage of the programme, a small amount of information can be found on the websites of the cultural organisations that are involved. Chaired by Neil MacGregor, director of the British Museum, the WCP aims to 'establish two-way partnerships' with overseas institutions (British Museum's website).

Currently in its final year, the WCP undertakes a variety of activities including developing public access to collections, records and archives; professional development programmes such as museum management, exhibition display and conservation training, skill sharing, exchanges and internships; touring exhibitions and international loans of artefacts; curatorial seminars and workshops; relationship building and partnership development, and joint research opportunities. It is hoped that the six member organisations will enable greater coordination of international activities, as well as draw upon current international partnerships through the BBC World Service, British Council and FCO (British Museum's website).

In light of the points expressed in the literature about instrumental policies being rigid, overly prescriptive and detrimental, this case study raises several key questions such as the motivations of the cultural organisations to be involved more instrumentally, their role in actively engineering an instrumental policy and the lack of prescription within the case of the WCP. These areas will be investigated through the analysis of the interview data. Before this, the final thematic map can be observed overleaf in figure 5, which will be explained through the discussion.

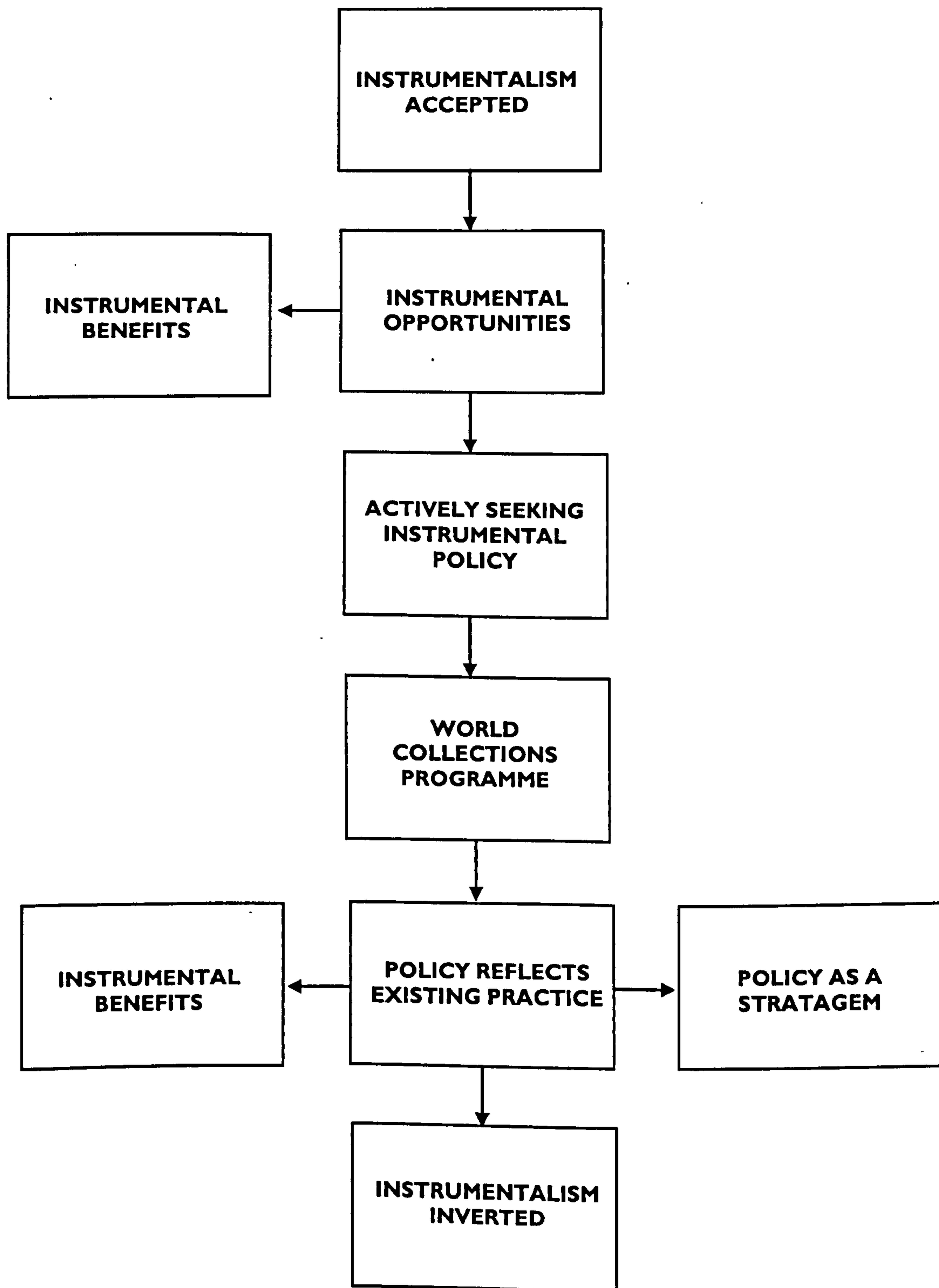


Figure 5 – Final Thematic Map of Group One – Policy and Process

The Strategic Role of Instrumental Policies

In line with the case study, there was a general consensus within those interviewed that the Demos research was a catalyst for the WCP, for example:

1. *It heightened the realisation among politicians of the importance of culture in the formation of international relations. It was debated in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons (Senior Policy Adviser)*
2. *That was the trigger that then unlocked the world collections money ... the British Museum and the V&A peddling their connections with Demos (Senior Strategist)*
3. *I think that probably was part of what led DCMS to give that little pot of money [WCP], I do think so ... I think it was in the air ... if I were a betting person, I would put my money on the idea that the museum directors who decided to do this had been advised that it would be an effective way of drawing attention to a kind of absence in our Government work (Senior Curator)*

The first quote confirms that the cultural organisations and Demos informed the Government about the role of culture within international relations and furthermore, that politicians took this seriously by debating it at the highest level. It illustrates that policy ideas can come from the cultural sector and that there is an upwards, as opposed to a 'top-down', flow of communication. The senior strategist in the second quote mentions 'connections', suggesting that these relationships have been used strategically, in this case, to lever funding. Indeed, the first quote shows that there is some kind of relationship between the cultural sector and Government. The curator in the third quote refers to 'our government work', suggesting an acceptance of instrumental policies and aligning her institution with Government and its work.

The fact that the organisations commissioned the research into cultural diplomacy suggests that they were seeking to be more instrumental in contributing to political objectives or they wanted to be perceived as such. Working internationally offers individuals and organisations a wealth of benefits, which the interviewees discussed at length. The artists spoke from a personal perspective of how international work enhanced their artistic practice. It was seen as an 'investment' in their work. For organisations, commercial interests underpinned the international work, for example:

1. *The need to be commercial and maximise the revenue that we can make out of our touring shows ... We are absolutely unapologetic about needing to maximise our income ... We are very, very entrepreneurial and we are very commercial in our sponsorship seeking, as all the big museums are (Senior Curator)*
2. *So the drivers were things like fundraising, to use an obvious one, commercial opportunities ... our exhibitions economy is built on touring exhibitions (Museum Director)*
3. *Obviously our relationships in America and Western Europe are curatorial and commercial (Arts Manager 1)*
4. *The international strategy at the Tate is driven by the international barter economy of museums ... they are usually economically driven ... it's so driven by the economics of exhibition making rather than by specific cultural diplomacy (Senior Strategist)*

These quotes show an acceptance of the need to be commercial, with international work driven by economic necessity. The fourth quote goes further by stating that the touring of exhibitions internationally is not motivated or determined by a diplomatic imperative. However, by commissioning the research and its subsequent strategic use to lever funding, the organisations are claiming to have a diplomatic role. They may well have a positive impact diplomatically, but this may be coincidental, a by-product rather than a starting point. This was corroborated by a number of interviewees who stated that any diplomatic benefit was secondary, for example:

1. *It is great as a nice coincidence and there is a bit of support available ... If cultural exchange can help with world peace as it were, as far as I'm concerned, so much the better! And if it also helps people to trade, then I suppose that's a spin off (Museum Director)*
2. *I think that the drivers of the international work, the museums and galleries, are rarely to do with cultural diplomacy, I think they are side benefits ... I think it's so embryonic that if it was instrumental, it would be by accident (Senior Strategist)*

Whilst the Demos report argues for the necessity of cultural work in international relations, the quotes by arts practitioners offer a different perspective. When discussing the international work undertaken by a major museum, one senior curator succinctly stated:

If we don't do it internationally, really, we've had it (Senior Curator)

This firmly places international working in the realm of survival and goes some way towards explaining the motivation behind the series of actions that led to the WCP. These quotations raise further questions such as whether it is important that international cultural activity is not driven by political imperatives. If diplomatic advances are being made, then it may not be relevant where the policy comes from. Furthermore, were the cultural organisations responsible for making the policy or, rather, did they respond creatively to an issue that was already on the political radar?

The second quote above sees the arts organisations as 'drivers' in initiating international work, alluding to the influence of the cultural sector within policy formulation. Working internationally may satisfy both policy areas – that is, be financially lucrative at an organisational level as well as be effective on a broad political scale. As a final note, the quotes and discussion have begun to build a picture of the relationship between Government and the cultural sector which looks very different from that described by the literature.

The information presented so far in this section suggests that the cultural institutions utilised an instrumental policy as a vehicle for their own organisational interests. However, the interview data shows more complexity. Whilst a number of interviewees felt that diplomatic impacts were coincidental, they still couched the discussion of their work within the rhetoric of diplomacy. For example:

1. *We can't just do diplomatic, we never just do diplomatic shows ... we have to balance what we do, we do some shows that are commercial to balance the books (Arts Manager 1)*
2. *We've been undertaking a select number of what we could call 'cultural diplomacy international tours' where the major reason for doing them is not a financial one ... it's not in search of offsetting the costs of running an exhibition here ... The kinds of shows that I'm talking about in more difficult venues, newer venues which aren't so practised in taking touring exhibitions, they are very often parts of the collection which are not on permanent show, they are what we call 'made to tour' shows (Senior Curator)*

So, there is a difference between exhibitions seen as commercial and those seen as diplomatic. The second respondent argues that whilst these 'diplomatic' exhibitions are

less financially lucrative, they are also commercially and strategically balanced by the touring of artefacts that are in storage. These quotes highlight a potential conflict between diplomacy and commercialism, a point that was also detected through the analysis of the British Museum's *International Strategy*, as explored in Chapter Four.

Despite its apparent importance, the word 'diplomacy' is used vaguely, not defined nor explained, by those using it. When the participants discussed 'diplomatic work', they did not elaborate on how it differed from their other activities. Whatever the definition, diplomatic work involves making financial compromises. Organisations engineered a situation where 'diplomacy' would be more prominent. This suggests that there are further benefits to be gained by undertaking 'cultural diplomacy' work. The importance of international touring exhibitions from a commercial angle has already been established but international work was seen to offer a variety of other benefits. These include gaining knowledge, expanding collections, securing international loans and capacity building. Furthermore, these are often underpinned by economic incentives, for example, by enabling institutions to tour exhibitions to politically or geographically difficult areas, which later leads to financial gain. The following quotations discuss these additional benefits:

1. *We need to gain knowledge, we need to find out about cultures and about contemporary art practice in a range of different cultures where we aren't necessarily the experts ... what we are trying to do is find out more about art in the Asia Pacific region, in the Middle East, India, Pakistan, Africa ... building up our knowledge (Museum Director)*
2. *What we actually knew about our own collections was that we needed some foreign input from the Kenyans to be able to identify some of the stuff we've got and to develop stories around them, because we've got seven million objects, you can't know everything about all of them! ... So in terms of our collections and our expertise, what of that would be useful for you to share ... at the same time, we go 'you know what, actually, you've got a manuscripts expert and we've got a collection of manuscripts that we're fairly sure are valuable, it would be great if you could come and spend some time looking at them' ... we've helped them redesign their ethnography storage, because there was no cataloguing, so we couldn't have ever borrowed objects because they didn't know what they had let alone us know what they had (Arts Manager 1)*
3. *We sometimes have delegations of visiting people from overseas museums and then you get to know them and you might borrow a little bit from them for an exhibition*

and then that could lead on to a bigger exhibition or programme later (Senior Curator)

The benefits of international practice to the cultural sector are clear. The range of opportunities provides a rationale for the actions of the cultural organisations in relation to the conception of the WCP. This is further developed by an interviewee who discussed the practicalities of international working:

Sometimes there are opportunities where you do need higher levels of support ... providing security and all sorts of stuff ... we need a loan from here and the only way in which we can get a loan from this national museum is with an official letter from Government ... There's obviously a point when you need permissions from the foreign ministries to start working with some national museums ... where there are Government to Government cultural agreements, they can make things a lot easier ... you need to work through levels of permission from their Government departments, and that's a lot easier if you've got your Government department doing it for you ... we couldn't do a lot of the work that we do in Iraq ... without their help ... I think it's us being aware of what Government's priorities are ... So there's a certain amount of realising, sharing the right information and then, I think, both sides realise the benefits to each of them (Arts Manager 1)

This quote offers insights into the practical issues as well as the relationship between the cultural sector and Government. It illustrates that the association is positive and, more pointedly, symbiotic. Government clearly has a key role in the realisation of the international ambitions of the organisations. This is unacknowledged by the literature which fails to capture this complexity presented.

Instrumental Policies Present Opportunities

Instrumental policy-making provided an opportunity for the cultural sector to utilise the Government's foreign policy agenda to facilitate a higher level of international engagement. The sequence of events outlined in the case study can be seen as representative of a general belief that instrumentalism offers new opportunities, which would not otherwise arise. This was a persistent theme across the interviews. The following anecdote by a gallery director illustrates the specific opportunities created by instrumental policies:

We had organised a Tanaka [Japanese artist] exhibition ... and the exhibition as we had planned it couldn't go ahead because ... the yen was very strong and the pound

was very weak, the transport costs were very high, and that just made them even higher, and then a European partner that we had in Italy dropped out because of the financial crisis ... so then we cancelled the show ... and then the Japan Foundation said 'well actually, we have things going on in Istanbul and Spain ... and we could much more substantially fund your project if you will find a venue in Turkey and in Spain at that time, before the exhibition returns to Japan'. And they say that this funding becomes available because there's a diplomatic element or it's a factor in the equation, so then, well, they're very upfront about that and I don't think that it affects me one bit except that I've got the interesting challenge of finding a Turkish venue ... and Spain which is particularly badly affected by the financial crisis ... now I've got an exhibition that I was going to do anyway but can now be realised because somebody in the Japan Foundation actually saw that there was a solution to my problem that would coincide with some diplomatic imperative that they have. We chose venues that are the kind of venues that we would want to work with anyway, so it's a collaboration that doesn't make me feel compromised at all ... I've got no difficulty actually with people in Istanbul finding out about Japan ... diplomatic relations are probably, on the whole, really a good thing ... I think it is probably some initiative whereby an exchange between these two or three countries is enhanced somehow ... which is exactly the same exhibition that we were going to do anyway and I wanted to have more venues in Europe as it happened and the Japan Foundation ... and their supportive role ... helps a lot. So I feel very grateful to them [the Japan Foundation] (Gallery Director)

This lengthy quotation highlights a number of key points. Firstly, it confirms that instrumental policies provide opportunities beneficial to the cultural sector, in this case by expanding the scale of the project. It also demonstrates that instrumental policies can be viewed as a solution to a problem. An instrumental policy has not only 'resolved' an issue but has resulted in a more substantial touring programme, with no compromise on behalf of the gallery. As long as the criteria are adhered to, in this case, expanding the exhibition to Spain and Turkey, no concession is made. Furthermore, the gallery director can continue with his usual work without engaging with the wider political concerns. This results in instrumental policies being seen as 'enabling'. Cultural activity is not necessarily being damaged by overt political associations or their ramifications. Without being knowledgeable about the broader politics, the interviewee assumes that these diplomatic imperatives are 'probably, on the whole, really a good thing' and that an exchange 'is enhanced somehow'. The use of the words 'probably' and 'somehow' shows a lack of engagement with cultural diplomacy. The participant here does not explore what these 'diplomatic imperatives' are and instead glosses over them. This echoes a point made by another interviewee in a previous quote: 'If cultural exchange can help with world peace as it were, then as far

as I'm concerned, so much the better!' These statements illustrate a benign interpretation of cultural diplomacy, far from the reactions posited in the academic literature.

This gallery director has little understanding of how his work feeds into a wider political agenda. More importantly though, he does not wish to be better informed. This is symptomatic of a wider issue regarding concepts and terminology explored later in the chapter but moreover, it shows that those within cultural organisations can extract the benefits and opportunities presented by an instrumental policy to suit their own agendas and do not have to fully understand or even engage with the broader political issues. In turn, political motivations can operate at Government level without having a political impact on the cultural organisations involved. Instrumental policies can thus have a two-way benefit, contributing to both cultural and political objectives. The benefits for the cultural sector are not only those of commercialism, collection enhancement, capacity building and so on, but also opportunities to expand the scale and the scope of the existing work of organisations.

This idea of instrumentalism being enabling and presenting opportunities was corroborated by the artists, for example:

We're working with the British Council in Jerusalem ... and the projects that they support often go to Cairo, Beirut, they go to different places around that area, which obviously I wouldn't be averse to at all! That would be really interesting (Artist 4)

Instrumental policies can be used to enhance the experience and practice of those within the cultural sector. Recipients of funding are not required to engage with the politics. The artist accommodates the wishes of the funding body, seeing it as an opportunity to expand the project and travel more extensively, failing to recognise the political nature of the funding. She simply translates it into something that offers artistic benefits and it does not occur to her that she is part of a wider diplomatic imperative. Both the artist and the gallery director are able to access funding to undertake their work, enhancing their own experience without engaging further with the politics. For them, it is an obvious way to realise their personal and professional goals.

Other interviewees failed to recognise or understand the nature of instrumental policies, as in these extracts:

1. *And the root of the practice is this belief that you can maintain a core private, personal identity as an artist that isn't diluted or compromised by all of the competing factors (Artist 1)*
2. *...there's something else going on there which has to do with trade and foreign affairs but doesn't touch us (Gallery Director)*
3. *Political objectives? I would probably say that we try not to contribute to political objectives, that we are a cultural and artistic organisation (Senior Curator)*

These interviewees, along with a number of other participants, do not acknowledge the presence of instrumental policies or indeed, their purpose. The first quote by an artist suggests that he is impervious to instrumentalism. This idea is shared by a gallery director in the second quote who does not recognise the connection between international trade and cultural activity. In the third quote, a curator is dismissive of any political goals being tied to the work of the museum, despite being funded via public subsidy. Interestingly, the same interviewee also made reference to 'our Government work', aligning her organisation and its work firmly with the Government. In the same way, many participants discussed their role in undertaking cultural diplomacy, but at the same time, failed to acknowledge what the political element of this work might be. This is explored in the last section in this chapter.

The discussion so far has presented a complex picture of instrumentalism. Such policies are unacknowledged by a proportion of the interviewees and many of those that do recognise the concept and directly benefit from it, are not required to engage with it. In addition, some participants saw the Government's diplomatic agenda as no more than coincidental. The interviewees talked about their involvement with the WCP, using the rhetoric of cultural diplomacy, but at the same time, failed to recognise what the wider implications of the association with Government might be. This may be due to the open and non-prescriptive nature of the policy, in which, as long as the priority countries are adhered to, no further direction is given. The reasons for this mismatch are unclear but this disparity demonstrates that the negative discussion of instrumentalism does not reflect or resemble the processes identified by

the participants of this study. These interviewees do not see themselves as susceptible or subject to instrumentalism. As the participants believe that they are not affected or influenced by Governmental decisions or policies, the conceptualisation of instrumentalism, as outlined in the literature, is weakened.

Instrumentalism: an Accepted Policy Model

All interviewees acknowledged that instrumentalism is an accepted model of policy-making. Such policies were seen as 'normal', expected and as the way things have 'always been'. The interviewees accepted instrumentalism as part of everyday practice. More importantly, they did not mention any of its negative effects, as asserted in the literature. Instead they acknowledged that all funding is underpinned by some political agenda. For example, an independent curator, two artists and a gallery director took the following stance:

1. *There is always an agenda, if you accept funding from someone there is always a political agenda ... there has to be, it's part of the overall political agenda ... I don't necessarily see that as a bad thing (Independent Curator)*
2. *The Arts Council implements the governmental politics, so it's politics everywhere ... what gets funded, what doesn't get funded, what artists show and why and within which context ... it's an agenda, you know, it's an agenda, it's normal (Artist 2, emphasis in original)*
3. *It's [art] always attempted to be used as a device to enrich people's lives by the Government ... in the beginning you see it was benefactors wasn't it, the patrons, it's not too dissimilar from wanting to paint Parisian hookers on the streets of Paris and actually having to paint a lord and a lady in their parlour or something as a commission, because you're not making a decision, most of the decisions are taken out of your hands, the subject matter straight away, but you do that for money. I mean that's what lots of artists do, so the compromise for money has been there since the beginning of time anyway (Artist 3)*
4. *Well I think you'd be naïve not to see that you were either intentionally or incidentally a piece in that machine ... you'd be paralysed if you got too naïvely ethical about it ... no one's going to give you money just because they like you (Gallery Director)*

The last interviewee accepts that a political agenda exists so instrumentalism is a conventional dimension of policy-making. At the same time, he shows a lack of engagement with the wider political implications. The justification here is that if cultural practitioners got too preoccupied with the politics underpinning the funding, they

would be unable to function. However, at the same time, a number of interviewees acknowledged the importance of remembering the funders and what their priorities were. For example:

1. *That [funding] will also come down either through ... Foreign Office, British Council ... DCMS. My instinct is to keep in the back of my mind where our funding comes from (Arts Manager 2)*
2. *I think it's us being aware of what Government's priorities are, if the Government's priority is working, for example, in India and China, then there's not a great deal of point bothering them with other places (Arts Manager 1)*

Such comments confirm that instrumentalism is not rejected by those within the institutions. Funding streams are expected to echo political objectives. This principle is both adhered to as well as propagated by the cultural sector. All policies are expected to achieve something or relate to something, and that policy inherently involves Government; otherwise there would be no policy, a point raised by Gray (1996, 2008) and Gibson (2008) but overlooked by the majority of the anti-instrumental material.

Many participants discussed the open, non-prescriptive and non-directive nature of funding systems, which allowed those within the cultural sector a great deal of freedom and autonomy. All of the artists interviewed discussed the lack of restrictions involved in undertaking international work, for example:

1. *We did exactly what we wanted to do ... there was no pressure ... I applied and then accepted the offer only under the condition that I don't have to do anything ... because I basically needed a break ... I needed time to reflect ... which to me is an essential part of what I do (Artist 2)*
2. *[It] just seemed to offer an opportunity for genuine open enquiry ... There was some expectation that you would participate in events ... but they weren't pre-described ... there was an expectation that you would probably use this time to develop new work, but you weren't required to (Artist 1)*
3. *they were quite 'hands-off' in this residency ... they just give you the space, a space to stay ... there was no obligation for us to do anything specific ... It's all been quite kind of loose really (Artist 4)*
4. *Yes, you can do what you like ... it's just open for you to make work (Artist 3)*

This view was also broadly expressed by those within the cultural institutions. The interviewees discussed the non-prescriptive nature of the policies, about having 'no outcomes or outputs' and not having to follow Government strategy 'to the letter'. One senior curator straightforwardly proposed her view:

People confuse direction and coordination, we don't need to, just because the British Museum and we know what each other are doing, it doesn't mean that they tell us what to do or vice versa (Senior Curator)

There was some continued discussion about limitations on the prescriptive nature of instrumental policies accepted by Government officials, as a senior policy-maker explains:

The Arts Council's role is just to get the money out of the Treasury and get it to the artists and not prescribe anything ... and allow, without prescription, cultural organisations to respond to that ... A desire not to inhibit or constrain the artists' right to roam and to develop partnerships that they want to etc (Senior Policy-Maker)

So, some policy-makers share the view that Government should not prescribe anything but instead allow those in the cultural sector to undertake work how they see fit.

Manipulation of the System

The interview data showed that the system and the policies within it are so open and flexible that they can be manipulated with ease at all levels, from Government through to artists. Many interviewees discussed this, for example:

1. *That core skill has to be developed of how you play with the level of prescription (Artist 2)*
2. *You can sort of get round it because the work is destroyed after the show so it doesn't come under production costs it comes under installation costs, so you can actually apply to do a commercial show if you destroy the work afterwards (Artist 3)*
3. *The other thing with curators is that they can make anything fit anything. They can take any work and explain in a way that could be politically motivated (Artist 3)*

Not only does this manipulation take place, it is accepted and expected. A tolerant stance was taken by an expert adviser to the Minister of Culture, who not only

acknowledged that it was occurring but that it was a predictable part of daily practice:

There's an everyday fabric of corruption, if you like, which is to do with trying to balance the books, and in that fabric, the Arts Council/the DCMS say China is a priority for the next three years, of course that means everyone goes 'oh, I've just had this fantastic idea, gosh it's about China, how funny' (Expert Adviser)

Instrumentalist policies are strategically exploited and utilised by the cultural sector, which, by aligning itself with the Government, facilitated additional funding which increased and enhanced the scale of its international work. More pointedly, whilst engineered by the sector itself, this new policy is then manipulated by policy-makers, funders, implementers and recipients.

Another fundamental point is that the distinction between policy-makers, funders, implementers and recipients is blurred. Those within the cultural organisations have acted as the makers of policy, its implementers and the recipients of the funding. This recognition offers an insight into the power and influence held by some within the cultural sector, which is explored next.

Policy as Practice

The hypothesis at the start of this study perceived the development of internationalism as a burgeoning strand of policy in response to growing world tensions caused by differences in religious and political ideology. One interviewee explained that this was not the case, but instead, that travel, globalisation and the changing nature of communication were factors. The cultural sector identified an opportunity to develop a policy that was already on the Government's radar and the organisations were proactive in their strategy, which connected international cultural activity with the broader political agenda, positioning culture at the centre of new thinking on internationalism. The following quote demonstrates the opportunistic nature of the Demos research and the strategic use of the rhetoric:

There were a number of things going on that pushed culture much more into the centre of international relations and they specifically were ... mass migration which meant that you had very large migrant populations in lots of different countries in the world ... there are very large movements of people ... very cheap travel which meant

that flows of international tourists were much greater than they had been ... those big flows of tourists and visitors meant that the cultural space was economically a lot more important than it had been. I think tourism accounts for £15 billion of GDP and the figure at the time ... it was something like 76% of international tourists said that they came to see heritage and museums specifically. So if you put that all together, you get a really powerful number in economic terms ... For economic reasons, it seemed to us that we needed to pay more attention to culture than perhaps we had been doing in the past (Senior Policy Adviser)

Here, the cultural sector is using the rhetoric of economic growth as a strategy. The ideas and statistics present a convincing case for culture which, when combined with the opportunistic and proactive strategy, resulted in the WCP. However, whilst this seems straightforwardly sequential, it is made more complex by many interviewees showing little recognition of instrumental policies as we understand them. The term 'instrumental' is an academic construction and is not widely used in practice. Perhaps instrumental policies have been reinvented and reinterpreted for strategic purposes, and no longer resemble that which is purported by the published work. This would fit with the view presented here of the inversion of instrumental policies to serve organisational needs. These needs are about fundamental survival and ensuring continued existence, rather than merely achieving organisational goals. Viewed in this way, cultural policy also takes on a new organisational role of protection, survival and growth.

Essentially, what has occurred here is the formulation of a new policy that reflects existing practice. The cultural organisations engineered a situation where a policy was developed that would increase the work that they were already doing. By initiating a policy that reflects practice, the aspirations and ambitions of the organisations can be fully realised. To further explore this idea, Tate can be used as an example. An interviewee from the organisation discussed the museum's goal to expand its collection to reflect more of the whole world, rather than the Western sphere. In order to do this, Tate needs to work internationally in parts of the world that correspond to the areas requiring attention in the collection; to make new contacts, work collaboratively with overseas museums, gain knowledge, and in due course, borrow and purchase new artwork. For Tate, expanding the collection is key to securing economic stability and growth. By having a new policy which essentially

replicates the work that they are already doing, the organisation can realise this objective more rapidly and on a greater scale, with added investment from Government.

Across the interviews, it was acknowledged that there was a tendency for policy, both in general terms and specifically in relation to internationalism, to reflect the existing work of cultural organisations, a point acknowledged by policy-makers, artists and practitioners, for example:

1. *The international work of the Arts Council has pretty much followed the natural activity of artists and arts organisations and actually, that's as good a strategy as any ... you can see the productivity of individual organisations and the strategy that the DCMS has followed, so particularly the British Museum and the V&A to a certain extent ... what the Arts Council is doing is just following the trends of the arts organisations (Senior Strategist)*
2. *It's [the international strategy] not telling you how to do it, or where to work, it's actually reflecting ... And they [policies] are reflective of the strengths of the organisations they support (Museum Director, emphasis in original)*

ACE and DCMS are seen to respond to the cultural sector and to reflect its work. This raises questions about the influence of arts practitioners not just on the policies themselves but, as observed through the WCP, on the process of their making. It leads to ideas about the power held within the cultural sector, and a reversal or subversion of the conventional power structure. One interviewee talked about ACE commissioning her to create a craft policy. Her starting point was to look at the London craft landscape and identify how money could be spent to make improvements. This involved interviewing a range of artists and practitioners to see what commonalities there were. She then compiled a report of these suggestions. This example confirms that the approach to cultural policy is sector-centred and driven by the needs and wishes of those already working in the arts. Indeed the DCMS's *International Strategy* extensively discusses the existing work of the sector yet the document is constructed to closely align itself with the FCO. Similarly, the Demos report couches the existing work of the cultural organisations in the rhetoric of diplomacy, to argue for and justify increased investment by Government. This adds to the emerging pattern of strategy, rhetoric, power and influence over cultural policy.

Chapter Four argued that the international documents were not working documents or policy frameworks. The only evidence of a general working policy pertaining to internationalism is the WCP. The inception of the WCP was the result of proactive strategy by the cultural sector, as the interviewees recognised:

It [WCP] very much came from the sector as opposed to DCMS deciding 'Ah, now we'll do something about international culture!' (Arts Manager 1, emphasis in original)

In essence, the WCP is an extension of the current activity undertaken by cultural organisations, allowing them to increase the volume and range of their natural activity, the same work that forms part of their everyday business, whilst being seen to comply with the Government's diplomatic objectives.

GROUP 2 - PEOPLE AND POWER

This section explores the role that certain individuals play within the policy-making process and focuses on Neil MacGregor as a case study to exemplify the power and influence held by key personnel. It introduces the notion of a cultural elite, which forms the central core of a strong network, comprising Government officials, civil servants and cultural practitioners. These individuals are extremely powerful and held in high regard by both their peers and within Government. The case study is followed by the final thematic map from the analysis, which depicts this information visually.

CASE STUDY 2 - Neil MacGregor

Neil MacGregor was born in Glasgow in 1946. His interest in art was sparked by an encounter with a Salvador Dalí painting during a museum trip with his father at an early age. He studied modern languages at New College Oxford before reading philosophy at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, a period coinciding with the protests of May 1968, in which he was active. MacGregor studied law at Edinburgh University and when called to the Scottish Bar five years later, he decided to change direction and pursue art history. During a summer school in Bavaria in 1973, Anthony Blunt, director of the Courtauld Institute, saw MacGregor's potential and persuaded him to take a postgraduate degree under his supervision, later describing

him as 'the most brilliant pupil he ever taught' (Adams, 2003:5). To date, MacGregor has been awarded nine honorary doctorates.

In 1975, MacGregor took a lecturing post in art history at the University of Reading and from there became the editor of the *Burlington Magazine*, a fine arts periodical. It was whilst in this position that he was approached by the Board of Trustees at the National Gallery (Blunt was a trustee) to assist them in appointing a new director. So charmed were they by his conviction and erudition (Adams, 2003), he was offered the job. This was controversial as MacGregor had no experience of working in a museum and the institution was fraught with problems from leaking roofs to an outbreak of Legionnaires' disease (Campbell-Johnston, 2008:33). However, MacGregor proved to be highly capable and extremely popular, staying in post for six years before becoming director of the British Museum in 2002, a position he currently holds.

When he moved to the Museum, the organisation was in turmoil. Having recently been separated from the British Library, the organisation was £5 million in deficit, visitor numbers had plummeted, a third of the galleries were closed and morale was low, with the staff that had not been sacked, on strike (Campbell-Johnston, 2008:32).

Nine years on, the British Museum is an iconic national establishment, receiving seven million visitors a year. This transformation of a 'venerable but little visited' institution (Adams, 2003:5), into the country's number one visitor attraction, or, as art critic Campbell-Johnston describes it, 'a financial basket case into a cultural jewel' (2008:32), is largely attributed to MacGregor. The museum is now seen as vital to the nation's lifeblood (Harding, 2008:2), with MacGregor widely recognised as an influential figure within culture, politics and the media. Described by *The Guardian* as 'the most politically savvy museum director in the game' (Adams, 2003:5), he is a skilled political mover. He was a confidante of Tony Blair, accompanying him on foreign trips including China in 2005 where MacGregor signed a cultural agreement with the National Museum of China, the first ever between a British and Chinese institution. He invited Gordon Brown to open *The First Emperor* exhibition and Boris

Johnson to open its successor, *Hadrian* (Campbell-Johnston, 2008:33), as well as inviting other Government officials and international political representatives to launch a range of exhibitions.

The Government clearly respects MacGregor. His refusal to apply admission charges at the National Gallery led to a transformation in Government thinking on the subject (Adams, 2003). The DCMS appointed him as its first and only 'cultural ambassador' in 2007, a position that aims to increase the profile of British museums around the world through an international exhibition programme and by fostering 'global communication' (Woolf, 2007:4). As part of this role, MacGregor is the chair of the WCP, as featured in the previous case study. He remains a trusted associate of the Government and was recently commissioned to conduct a feasibility study into the potential for cultural institutions to develop endowment funds (Bailey, 2010). The Government's choice of MacGregor for this role may have been influenced by his negotiation of a £25 million donation to the British Museum by the Conservative Peer Lord Sainsbury in September 2010, the largest philanthropic gift to a British cultural organisation in 25 years.

Affectionately nicknamed 'Saint Neil' for his good cultural work and his devout Christianity, MacGregor is perceived as 'unerringly modest' (Adams, 2003:5) and 'curiously understated' (Appleyard, 2009:4) for playing down his achievements at the British Museum and wider role in protecting Iraqi artefacts during the invasion (Adams, 2003); for being the first director not to live in a grand apartment on its premises (Campbell-Johnston, 2008) and for quietly refusing a knighthood in 1999 (Kennedy, 2007) which, characteristically, he does not discuss.

This humble image has contributed to MacGregor's messianic reputation (Adams, 2003), which is evident through the appreciation openly expressed by the media. Campbell-Johnston describes him as:

a committed idealist who, in a world in which culture is increasingly presented as the acceptable face of politics, has pioneered a broader, more open, more peaceable way forward ... MacGregor is a man of great erudition, deep spiritual conviction, profound personal integrity and a delightfully irreverent giggle (2008:33)

The Times named MacGregor as 'Briton of the Year' in 2008. Journalist Kennedy is similarly effusive in her praise of MacGregor in her article entitled *He has not only transformed the public's view of what the British Museum is for, but also the view of the politicians*. She states:

Whether dealing with visiting politicians, viewers, journalists, or millionaire donors, MacGregor has a remarkable ability to make the person addressed feel infinitely more intelligent than usual: it's genuine, but a most useful gift (2007:21)

Journalist Rustin describes MacGregor's erudition and enthusiasm as 'hard to resist' (2010:26). Kennedy's article cites Maurice Davies of the Museums Association, who acknowledges MacGregor's skillful approach: 'He's managed a very sophisticated balancing act between pleasing the public and pleasing the politicians, and still being seen as a world player' (quoted by Kennedy, 2007:21).

MacGregor is credited with a host of achievements including radically redefining the role of the British Museum (Campbell-Johnston, 2008); moving the subject of antiquities up the political agenda (Adams, 2003); creating a 'global society' through forging international cultural links (Campbell-Johnston, 2008); bringing the public some of the world's most spectacular objects and working with the Iraqis during the war to help protect their treasures. These activities have led to MacGregor being perceived as a 'cultural diplomat'. MacGregor's numerous television and radio appearances have helped cultivate this image. As well as being regularly interviewed, he has enjoyed a more sustained media presence. Whilst at the National Gallery, MacGregor presented two television series on art, *Making Masterpieces* (1997), followed by *Seeing Salvation* (2000). In 2007, audiences were introduced to *The Museum*, a ten week series which saw MacGregor presiding over the British Museum's collection. In 2010, MacGregor realised his most ambitious media project to date with Radio 4's *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. This year-long series comprised 100 programmes, each written and narrated by MacGregor, which focused on objects from the British Museum's collection, as well as artefacts from other collections across the UK, guiding listeners through two million years. Purves

claims that the series itself is 'one of the wonders of the age', describing MacGregor as 'curious', 'gentle', 'passionate', 'intelligent' and 'eloquent' (2010:10). Its success was followed by the publication of a book of the same name which became a bestseller. Part of its aim was to increase attendance to the country's museums, with research suggesting that this has been achieved (Mahoney, 2010).

As in the political and media spheres, similar sentiments of approbation towards MacGregor are echoed by his peers. His successor at the National Gallery, Charles Saumarez-Smith, described him as:

one of the most able, intelligent and intellectually supportive people I have ever known, with an extraordinary ability to get on with people of all sorts (quoted by Campbell-Johnston, 2008:33)

The findings in this study reflect this wide admiration of MacGregor. Of the fifteen interviews, seven participants discussed him directly and eight spoke about the British Museum. From the interview data, the word 'Neil' was mentioned 55 times in total and 'MacGregor' 19 times. In one 45 minute interview with a Government expert adviser, he was mentioned 14 times. Participants referred to him by name, by his position at the museum or by the title 'cultural ambassador'. The words used to describe him replicate those aforementioned, including 'erudite' and 'persuasive', with one referring to him as a 'cultured force for good'. It was widely believed by the interviewees that the WCP was conceptualised, initiated, set up and implemented by MacGregor, and furthermore, is controlled and owned by him.

The commentary so far has offered an insight into the nature of the relationship between the national museums and Government. It is one of symbiosis, mutuality and unity, and not the uneasy relationship presented by the literature. The first case study showed how this positive relationship was integral to securing the £3m WCP funding. This case study demonstrates the importance of key individuals and how their personal and professional relationships aided the conceptualisation and implementation of the WCP. Before presenting these arguments, the final thematic map for this group can be observed in figure 6, which will be explained through the subsequent discussion.

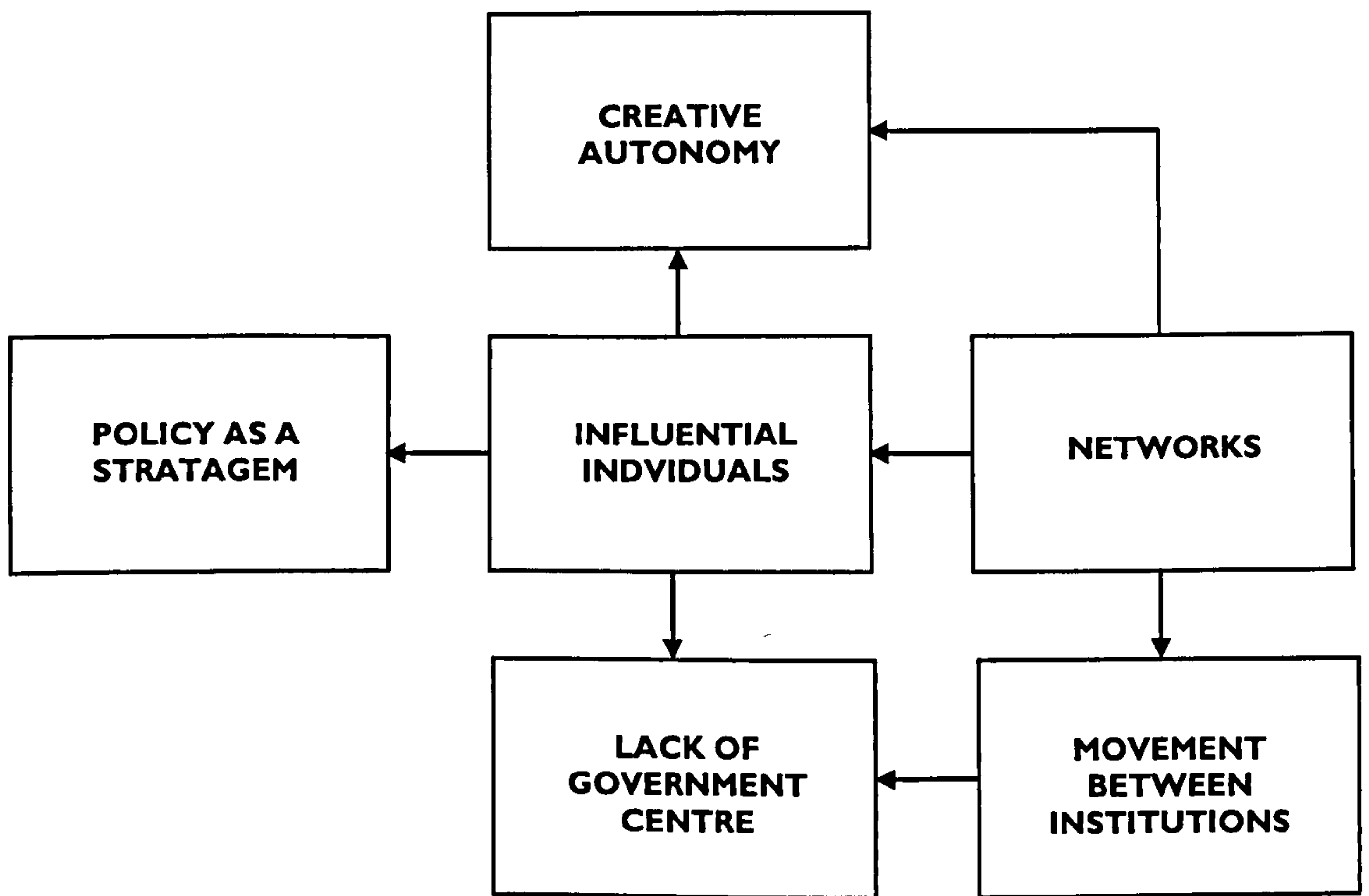


Figure 6 – Final Thematic Map of Group Two – People and Power

Influential Individuals

The case study illustrates how one individual is revered by the press, politicians and his peers. These effusive sentiments were echoed by the interviewees, who discussed MacGregor in extremely complimentary terms, for example:

1. *But actually having a cultural ambassador, nominated by the Prime Minister, it's a bit of an honorary role ... the World Collections Programme could be considered to be a way of leap-frogging the British Council ... What's the cultural ambassador doing if there's a 'head of' ... you know ... it's a slight shift of power (Museum Director)*
2. *That is being led by Neil MacGregor personally because Neil is one of these people who can articulate in a very erudite way the case for culture and why culture matters in terms of civilisation and history ... In the end, the thing that got it [WCP] was that Neil is a very persuasive person who, if you look across the cultural sector as the whole, there's probably only a handful of people, of whom Neil is one, who can walk into Number 10 and who the Prime Minister will listen to about cultural activity (Senior Policy-Maker)*
3. *I was in Iran at the beginning of this year and Neil MacGregor had just signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Minister of Culture. The British Council had been chucked out, the ambassador had been saying that they'd basically tried to say that he didn't exist ... there were slogans in the street and demonstrations against the British and the Americans, the BBC had just started the BBC Persian stuff which was*

being absolutely trashed and there was Neil MacGregor, signing this Memorandum of Understanding with the Minister. When I went to the National Gallery, I mean they treated me like royalty because Neil MacGregor had said that I was a good person ... And the impact of this was just fantastic, single-handedly this man was doing the most enormous ... brilliant job ... building capacity, building links, being a marvellous, cultured force for good, really ... amazing (Expert Adviser)

The interviewee in the first quote comments on the shift in power and whether true or not, it is seen as a transferral of power. The use of the word 'honorary' signifies distinction and great respect. She further endorses this position by claiming that MacGregor was 'nominated by the Prime Minister'. Moreover, she refers to MacGregor by his title, adding further grandiosity to her statement. The second quote uses a number of superlatives to describe MacGregor. The mention of the Prime Minister adds further gravitas to his importance, stating that he is in a minority that influences Government at the most senior level. These quotes demonstrate that MacGregor and the Prime Minister have a direct and positive relationship, rather than MacGregor going through the Minister for Culture or DCMS. The third quote uses the term 'single-handedly', firmly placing all responsibility and credit on one individual. The interviewee emphasises MacGregor's importance by positioning his role in securing an agreement in the midst of fierce political conflict. Furthermore, the interviewee featured in the final quote was an expert adviser to the Minister for Culture, thus showing the connection between MacGregor and senior Government officials.

The comments demonstrate the significance and influence of MacGregor. He is widely believed to have been the driving force behind the Demos research that subsequently led to the WCP, with the interviewees discussing the programme as if it belonged to him:

1. *It very much came from the likes of Neil MacGregor (Arts Manager 1)*
2. *The World Collections Programme that you've probably heard about, which was set up by the British Museum, is helpful because that pot of money sits there and can, at Neil MacGregor's discretion, be used to facilitate a project (Senior Curator)*
3. *Other than the cultural diplomacy pamphlet that Demos produced, which was largely ghost written by Neil MacGregor ... if you read between the lines, it's what MacGregor says (Senior Policy-Maker)*

4. *It's [WCP] owned and controlled by Neil and the other museums, it's not owned by us [DCMS] (Expert Adviser)*

The first quote attributes the idea of the WCP to MacGregor, the director of the V&A and an expert adviser for the Minister of Culture, who, earlier referred to MacGregor as a 'cultured force for good', again showing the links between Government and those within key cultural organisations. It also suggests some kind of collective power or influence. The contribution of the idea to MacGregor again confirms his role in the making of a policy which reflects existing practice. The second quote states that the WCP fund is used at MacGregor's 'discretion'. This assigns ownership; placing him as a central figure in its implementation and making him appear as the sole decision maker in how the £3m is spent. As the Chair of the WCP, this may well be the case. A connection between the Demos research and MacGregor is made in the third quote where a senior Government official recognises MacGregor's central role in the creation of the document. So he is seen as the person responsible for the conceptualisation, initiation, strategy, implementation, ownership and control of the WCP.

The quotes so far in this section build a picture of the power held by this one individual. There were a few other people, all museum directors, who were also discussed in highly positive and influential terms, but MacGregor was by far the strongest example. The connections between these individuals result in higher levels of power and influence. The anecdote below offers a further insight into these relationships:

We then had this brilliant dinner where David Miliband, Douglas Alexander and James Purnell, so that's three Secretaries of State, Foreign Office, International Development, Culture, sat down with a group of cultural leaders and talked about cultural diplomacy and what it meant and of course what's fantastic about this sort of networking really, I mean, David Miliband and Douglas and James were all ... Douglas became a politician first but David was James' and, sort of, my boss, really, he was head of the policy unit when James was cultural adviser and I was special adviser here, we have all known each other now for decades ... It was fantastically exciting for the cultural world and indeed has opened doors in the Foreign Office where now we've got a senior civil servant who takes us all much, much more seriously (Expert Adviser)

There are several points to make here. Firstly, that the influential individuals span both Government and the cultural sector. Secondly, the individuals concerned are well connected on both a personal and professional level. Thirdly, the interviewee uses the word 'networking' but since she also acknowledges that they have known each other for 'decades', 'networking' does not accurately reflect these long and close relationships. Her mention of 'dinner' adds a further social element to these relationships and helps build a picture of how these influencers interact and make decisions. This suggests that key decision making is largely hidden, not in a secretive way but since it happens behind closed doors and is based on social interactions, the processes are not transparent and the public is excluded. A further quotation by an expert adviser adds to this. When questioned about the conceptualisation of the WCP, she states:

It really was sitting on aeroplanes going around America going 'look, we've got the Comprehensive Spending Review, we've just managed to turn getting a minus amount for this department into a plus amount, what shall we do? What shall we do for Neil?' (Expert Adviser)

This quote confirms that closed conversations form the basis of policy-making in this area. It also reveals that the policy itself centres on MacGregor. The question she asks reveals the importance of this one individual within cultural policy and its making. Furthermore, policy-making takes on a personal dimension - not only through the individuals involved in making seemingly arbitrary decisions but also through the attempt to satisfy Neil MacGregor, rather than broader political objectives. The Demos report is key here as it roots the policy within a political perspective, using rhetoric to rationalise and justify the role of the arts. The Demos research was used strategically to obscure these personal motivations, allowing them to dictate policy. So instead of the Demos research leading to the WCP, it facilitated it. When questioned on how cultural policy is made, an expert adviser replied:

So how's policy made? Well, it's rather kind of personal (Expert Adviser)

A strong network is beginning to emerge, which has a recognised hierarchy, with practitioners such as MacGregor holding a central role, skewing or even subverting the

traditional power structure. Conventionally, this would suggest a 'bottom-up' approach, were it not for the fact that those at the 'bottom' are equally as powerful, if not more, than those at the 'top'. To add to this complexity, another anecdote from the expert adviser offers a further perspective on policy and its making. Here, she recounts her attendance at a conference:

I met a civil servant in a conference ... and he was doing a presentation about our [DCMS's] creative industries strategy, he was 22 and he'd got all these slides and I didn't recognise it, you know, and I'm probably closer to this strategy than almost anyone who is, apart from the ministers, and it was just a whole load of weirdo diagrams ... I mean he did it well, but, you know, why would he know? (Expert Adviser, emphasis in original)

From this perspective, policy is not to be shared, but is something that takes place between selected individuals. Wider circulation is unnecessary. This is not just with regards to the broader general public but, interestingly, is in relation to the interviewee's colleagues. This corroborates the idea that policy is made through highly personal, individual and autonomous decision-making.

The Notion of the Individual

A strong theme running through the interviews was the notion of the individual *per se* and the importance of particular people in making things happen. These individuals are proactive, often collaborating with others in the network. The importance of individuals more generally was widely acknowledged by all of the interviewees, for example:

1. *I think that was like most things in life, down to the individuals concerned ... I guess that comes down to the individuals ... it always boils down to the individuals (Independent Curator)*
2. *Very often it has to do with an individual, that's the thing, somebody who is the director who is going to fight for that organisation, get more money when it comes to that bidding time and they've got an idea that's going to inspire somebody in some Foreign Office or other department (Gallery Director)*
3. *As with so many things, these things come down to individuals ... if you've got a high performing individual in a dysfunctional organisation, you can still get some really good stuff out of it (Senior Policy-Maker)*

These quotes are a small selection from a consensus that individuals are paramount to making things happen. The second quote draws attention to the crucial role of the director. Interviewees recognised that personal motivations shape the actions of these individuals, for example:

1. *It's partially driven by people who have an interest ... it isn't really driven strategically (Senior Policy-Maker)*
2. *I think that too often, those projects are down to the interests of an individual, rather than a strategy for cultural organisations as a whole ... I mean the Syria thing is do with Stephen Deuchar's kind of deep passion for the Middle East. So it's often down to the serendipity of individuals (Senior Strategist)*
3. *That came out of a personal desire on both my part and the British Council's Prague office and the people who ran it at the time to get to an exchange going ... I just really wanted to make it happen (Independent Curator)*

The approach cannot be strategic if personal interest forms a key motivation. These powerful individuals link their own personal agendas with broader political priorities, to enable them to present a compelling argument for support. To illustrate this further, it may be useful to draw upon the previous example of Tate and its ambition to expand its collection to take in all aspects of the world, rather than focusing on the Western perspective. The former director of Tate Britain, Stephen Deuchar's personal 'passion' for the Middle East was the starting point here. His enthusiasm to drive it, coupled with the organisational aspirations that can be loosely connected with wider political objectives, make a persuasive case. Thus members of the cultural elite shape policy and its making. In essence, the 'strategy' is itself the personal agendas of the individuals concerned.

The discussion in this section offers new insights about the nature and role of policy. If the international policy reflects the existing work of the museums and the existing work of the museums is based on the self-interests of a small number of individuals, then the policy is formulated on the basis of the personal preferences of a handful of individuals. This gives the concept of 'instrumental cultural policies' a whole new slant as this case shows that the policy is instrumental in achieving the personal agendas of the cultural elite. It also shows that instrumental policies can move in both directions

and not only refers to the attainment of political goals. Furthermore, this further reveals the inaccuracy of the literature on instrumental policies. As its conceptual basis has not been fully recognised or explored, claims such as those made by Gibson, that all policy is 'constitutively instrumental' (Gibson, 2008:249), and Gray (1996; 2008), that all policy is instrumental in the sense that it is meant to achieve something, take on a new and different meaning.

Networks

Recognising the importance of the network is central to fully understanding the environment within which these key individuals operate and how they have the ability and means to be so influential. This section discusses the importance of the network and develops some of the ideas already presented.

A dominant theme throughout the interviews was the strength of the network, recognised by all fifteen participants. One way in which this was articulated was through the positive relationship between Government and the cultural sector. In describing her everyday work, one arts manager illustrated the positive and consultative nature of this relationship:

I'd like to seek advice on whether or not it's a good idea, then I'd go back and ask DCMS because it's their money and the Foreign Office because, actually that's where the local expertise is ... I'd probably go to the DCMS and say 'would you be happy for us to use this money at the moment, to go to this place?' and then I'd probably go to the Foreign Office and see whether this is a sensible thing to do at the moment ... We've never had a disagreement ... I would check back with DCMS just to make sure that they're happy ... that constant sharing of information is the bedrock ... just keeping talking to each other and working out where are the long-term priorities and seeing where those might work together so that cultural organisations can have their priorities and understand the Foreign Office has theirs ... as long as you keep up those conversations between the cultural organisations, between Government and the directors, and the British Council ... DCMS and Government is now particularly interested in working in Iraq ... if there are opportunities they feel that might enhance the work that we're [British Museum] doing, then of course they'll highlight those to us (Arts Manager 1)

Four points about the relationship between the Government and the cultural sector are expressed here. First, the cultural organisations are mindful of political priorities. The policy reflects the existing work of the cultural organisations and at the same time,

connects with Government's geographical priorities. Second, there is also an acknowledgment of the ambitions of the two parties and the need to work together to achieve their respective goals. This can be linked back to the literature on cultural diplomacy in Chapter Two, which alluded to the idea that Government and the cultural sector can both achieve their goals to their mutual advantage. The approach appears to be wholly collaborative, working together and using the knowledge held by distinct groups to be effective. Through acknowledging the expertise held within the departments, the interviewee demonstrates a respect for Government. Third, there is open and direct communication between the Government and the cultural organisations. Lastly, stating that the parties have 'never had a disagreement' suggests a long-term, cooperative and positive relationship, again at odds with the literature. A number of interviewees discussed this favourable relationship between Government and the cultural sector. For example, one arts manager expressed the wish to work more closely with Government, in this instance, the local authority:

Going back to the political agenda, we asked the local authorities if they wanted to partner us on the programme (Arts Manager 2)

The literature propagates the view that the cultural sector should resist instrumental policies due to the wealth of negative consequences and that such policies create tensions between the sector and Government. These quotes demonstrate the exact opposite. In the quote above, the interviewee refers to the local authority as a 'partner', a word that was also used by a senior Government official:

the BRIC countries [Brazil, Russia, India, and China] are our political priorities so engagement with Brazil is in itself a good thing and we trust the partners (Senior Policy-Maker)

The participant mentions the word 'partners' in relation to the cultural sector, thus confirming this sense of a close and equal relationship between the two parties. By stating that engagement with Brazil is 'in itself a good thing', this demonstrates a lack of prescription and direction. The word 'trust' builds on this idea and suggests a level of confidence felt by Government towards the sector. An arts manager from the British Museum expresses a similar sentiment:

[it's an] acknowledgment that the museums knew what they were doing, which was quite refreshing (Arts Manager 1)

The Government official expresses this from the other perspective, stating:

if we try something and I'm told by the sector 'hang on a minute, you're intervening far too much here, just let us get on with this', then that's fine and we can stand back (Senior Policy-Maker)

According to these accounts, there is a two-way respect and negotiation between those in Government and the cultural sector. The first case study commented on the lack of prescription regarding the WCP and the quotes in this section suggest that prescription and direction are not necessary when trust is involved. It is generated by the network to which the Government and the cultural organisations both belong, with individuals like Neil MacGregor as prominent leaders. The literature described the imposition of instrumental policies as imposed from the outside but this analysis firmly places the cultural sector within the decision making process.

Movement between Institutions

The strength of the network was also revealed through the degree of movement between institutions, with individuals moving from the cultural sector to and from Government, arts organisations and agencies such as ACE. There were many instances of this. For example, one interviewee was director of Arts Strategy at ACE and had previously been at Tate; another was expert adviser to the Minister of Culture but had a long history as a performing arts practitioner; one participant, now at the British Museum, had been a former civil servant; and another, who was a freelance curator, had previously worked for ACE and British Council. These connections came across strongly in the interviews, for example:

1. *I [British Museum] worked directly to [sic] the Director of Culture [DCMS], the then Director of Culture, who's Alan Davey, who is now Chief Executive of the Arts Council (Arts Manager 1)*
2. *Our Director of Planning [British Museum] ... created a little policy team of three of us but two of us are ex-civil servants... the Natural History Museum, their director has a special adviser, who's another former civil servant who used to work at Defra (Arts Manager 1)*

An expert adviser explained her own multiple moves between the cultural sector and the Government:

I came back here to work ... invited by Chris Smith in 1999 and I worked for Chris and then for Tessa Jowell and then I went off to do Chichester Festival Theatre and Manchester International Festival and then I came back with James Purnell and James had been adviser to Tony Blair when I was adviser to Chris Smith, so we were doing the same jobs but in different buildings. I was here, he was at Number 10 and I was sharing this office ... with ... Andy Burnham. So James said 'please come back because I think I'm going to be the Secretary of State and that's just amazing, and instead of having to persuade everyone to do things, we could just do them' (Expert Adviser)

A cohesive network with a history is beginning to take shape. The individuals involved have known each other for a period of time, one reason for the strength of the network. Hence, the interviewee's statement that 'instead of having to persuade everyone to do things, we could just do them', which implies a substantial degree of trust and autonomy.

This movement between institutions became apparent when initial research was being conducted into the most suitable people to interview. It was clear through researching the career paths of the potential interviewees that there was a lot of movement between the organisations. It was also prominent during the interviews, where the majority of participants enquired who else was being interviewed and proceeded to list the individuals that they felt might be suitable. Here are some examples:

1. *I mean she was at the DCMS ... our cultural ambassador, of course, is Neil MacGregor, you should talk to him if you can (Senior Curator)*
2. *If you wanted to talk about that, Anna Jobson at the Arts Council would be the person to have an interview with ... she's great ... she used to work with us here, sorry, this is by-the-by, but she came from the directors office, she was head of the directors office here, and went on to the Arts Council from here and I know that's one of the bits of work that she's involved in (Museum Director)*
3. *Yes I know Kathryn. You've got Anna from the Arts Council who is the best possible person ... see if Anna can find you someone at the British Council (Museum Director)*

4. *Andrew Nairn and I were talking about it recently and he would be an interesting person to talk to actually, now at the Arts Council [former director of Modern Art Oxford] (Gallery Director)*
5. *The reason why I suggest Keith is that for the last couple of years, the responsibility for international has sat with various people within DCMS and he has recently gone to try and consolidate their position ... and then the person at the British Council is Andrea Rose ... she is Head of Visual Arts. The head of the arts team at the British Council is called Rebecca Walton but she's incredibly busy, or you could try Paul Howson (Senior Strategist)*
6. *...and you should probably talk to Katie Childs ... Katie will be able to give you lots of material on that (Expert Adviser)*

Sometimes the characteristics of the network were revealed by the interviewees, for example:

Our museum directors, so the big cultural players, are all very well connected, they all know each other, Neil's on the board of the National Theatre, so there are other links without the sort of artificially created ones as well and if there are ways in which it would be beneficial to work together, I'm sure that they would be found, in our interconnected cultural realm! Sneeze in one place and somebody else reports that you've got swine flu! So everybody knows each other. I was at a conference ... I read down the acceptance list and realised that there were a number of multiple names because so many people were married to each other! So that could have saved a fortune on mailing! (Arts Manager 1)

This raises a number of issues. Firstly, the interviewee above refers to the museum directors as 'the big cultural players', which adds to this idea of influential individuals. Secondly, she mentions that Neil MacGregor is a Trustee of the National Theatre. This shows further professional connections within the cultural sector, across artforms and moreover, the network itself. Thirdly, she recognises the concept of the network, labelling it 'our interconnected cultural realm'. The selection of the word 'realm' itself has connotations of a self-governing kingdom. Her joke about swine flu adds an intimacy, suggesting that those within the network know each other on a personal level. This is confirmed by the mention of individuals within the sector being married to each other. All these elements collectively strengthen the network.

The document analysis in the previous chapter concluded that the texts were not working documents, or policies that informed or guided action. The data here present

a viable alternative, suggesting that the real policy-making happens through these associations between individuals. When questioned, many interviewees confirmed this, including artists:

1. *Yes...actually, thinking about it, yeah, everything has actually ... like I did a project in 2006 in Salzburg and that came out of Heidi Schaffer ... she got talking to this person in a gallery and then instigated this kind of artistic exchange between a group in Sheffield and the group in Salzburg and then I had a show in Toronto in 2006 as well and ... I'd organised a project in Nottingham that this artist from Toronto has participated in it and she came over and she also curates a space, so she saw my work there and then I also met up with her when she was again across in the UK ... I showed in Athens ... one of the students on my course is from Athens and my flatmate and my very good friend and her friend Margarita who studied at Slade in London came to stay with us and she had seen my degree show and then I was just making an application for something else, for a residency in Rome, one morning at breakfast and I was asking her objectively if she could look at my slides and then a few days later she said 'oh, I'm curating this project, I would really like you to be part of it!' (Artist 4, emphasis in original)*
2. *I eventually managed to find one in one of the consulates and traced the authors of that to Tongji University [China] and these people had started off as professors there and ended up in government. And I ended up meeting with Professor Tang who had been the deputy author and was writing the next five-year plan for Shanghai and he was trained at Liverpool University ... And it was because some of the same consultants were involved and some of the same bodies of knowledge were involved ... so I found this fascinating and disturbing (Artist 1)*

Evidently, the links of the network cross international borders. The movement between institutions even includes from a UK university to the Chinese government.

This movement between institutions was also exploited by the DCMS in the implementation of the WCP. A civil servant who had worked on the development of the programme was seconded to the British Museum for 18 months to ensure its smooth operation. This person is now employed by the museum itself to continue working on the programme. She explains:

[the WCP] was what I was working on when I worked at the Department of Culture, we'd been working on some sort of support for cultural organisations ... I moved here in the January after we had got the money, so I came over with the project to ensure some kind of continuity. I'd done a little bit of thinking about it as a civil servant, having had the allocation, so I was beginning to think about how it might work. And so in a sense, it made sense to have that same person to be able to put that into

practice. And it was good for me because having done policy work, to then be organising and getting a little bit more involved, that's quite rare in terms of Government to be able to go from the intellectual reasons why a department supports something right to the point where you're sat in the debate that it's funded (Arts Manager 1)

When questioned further about how the WCP works in practice, the interviewee replied:

obviously it's our money and we work at arm's length ... it's our money in terms of a grant and so if there's anywhere I think I'd like to seek advice on whether it's a good idea or not, then I'd go back and ask DCMS because it's their money (Arts Manager 1)

The interviewee seems to have a dual loyalty. In moving from the DCMS to the British Museum, she retains a sense of needing to contribute to the objectives of the department and its priorities. She demonstrates allegiance with DCMS but is based within the British Museum and is now employed by the institution, so also has a responsibility to it. Having an individual who has been involved in the development of the policy, then move into an institution in the implementation stages, is likely to ensure its success.

This movement between institutions is regarded as an innovative way to work as the practitioners involved in the planning stages have the knowledge and experience to know whether something will work in practice, as one interviewee explains:

Ruth MacKenzie, who had done a lot of international work herself because she used to work for the Manchester International Festival, and James Purnell talking about it and sort of working out what would be the most practical way, which I think is a fantastically refreshing way to work in Government (Artist Manager 1)

Both parties benefit as Government employees with experience of the sector have both practical knowledge and sympathy for the arts whilst civil servants, now working within the cultural organisations, are able to ensure that practice is aligned with political objectives.

Overall, the network has a number of dimensions - pervasiveness, longevity, potency, comprehensiveness, persistence, coherence and extensiveness - which all add to its power and durability.

Creative Autonomy

The interviews were full of ideas about the need to maintain artistic independence and creative autonomy at all levels. The first case study discussed the open nature of the policies. Interviewees appreciated the lack of prescription. They valued their high levels of autonomy, for example:

I feel like a fairly independent voice, I don't work for the Government and they pay me to be that independent voice, I mean nobody's telling me what to say (Gallery Director)

Many participants used similar language when discussing their position, for example:

1. *Just because the British Museum and we know what each other are doing, it doesn't mean that they tell us what to do or vice versa, or anybody tells us what to do (Senior Curator, emphasis in original)*
2. *We wouldn't be told that we had to have a show in Beijing ... it sounds a bit arrogant to say that but you wouldn't do it (Museum Director)*
3. *... an arm's length relationship ... you never want to be in a position where the Government is telling you what to do ... I think that's how you manage to maintain no one telling each other what to do (Arts Manager 1, emphasis in original)*

This idea of not being 'told' what to do was strongly emphasised by a number of participants, which was very different from the situation presented by the literature. The cultural sector and Government have been shown to belong to the same network, with individuals enjoying close relationships and key personnel making decisions collaboratively and autonomously.

In fact, autonomy is such a strong force within the network that a senior manager at the British Council described a scenario when curbing it proved difficult. The following anecdote explains how steps were taken to reduce the close connection between the Arts Department within the British Council and the cultural sector, to bring the

department back into the institution that it belonged to, as its allegiance was found to be with the sector. This exemplifies the strength of the network. It is a long quotation but has been included almost in its entirety as it covers a large number of themes from the data analysis such as networks, movement between institutions, autonomy, social interactions and power. The interviewee outlines the situation:

This Department has always had its own ethos; it used to have its own building. Not so long ago we used to live in a completely separate building in London ... which may seem to you to mean nothing at all but institutionally, these things really make a difference. They ran themselves, they were semi-detached from the organisation, they never felt obliged to have any real conversations with anyone they didn't like ... this is literally how it was! It's a very powerful department. Traditionally, it was the most powerful department back in the '40s and '50s and '60s because, and this is still the case ... it is by far the best connected department to the sector in the country. So they have tentacles right out to individual artists, to galleries, to theatres, to whatever ... in the arts world you've got individuals, galleries of three people, National theatre, everything inbetween. So, this Department's connections with that sector is very, very close and it resents, as many of them are either ex-practitioners or are very close to the artistic world, they hate structures and managerial stuff, you know, they tolerate it. So there they lived in their own department, they had a theatre and a library and they had a very nice life in Portland Place. In about 2000/1, they had to come to this floor in this building but they hated it and saw it as a diminution of their power, they hated losing their space, they hated everything about it. And they also hated the increasing centralisation that was going on because it, the way they operated was much more about people knowing people, having quick conversations, 'yes, yes, we can do that', the networks, everything, and what happened was that the organisation literally stripped that away from them but there was nobody having a mediating conversation between the Department and the organisation ... So in the winter of 2007/8, the Department turned to the sector and to the newspapers, which is, I mean, you can be sacked, it's a vehement thing to do in institutions because it breaks the confidence completely and the sector rose up in defence of the Department and the papers waded in ... this organisation is the most sensitive to bad reputation of any probably because its reason for being is so nebulous in a way and so much to do with people just believing, that a dent in the reputation is very painful and top management was shattered and the Board of Trustees was also absolutely shattered by this ... I was invited to come and take it on! I've never worked in this Department but I had presumably got enough of their confidence to start a journey of the rebuilding and we have really, really rebuilt so that I can now say to you I'm very, very confident about the future of the Arts in the organisation but there's still more to do, there's still more professionalism to build back overseas where we've lost it (Senior Arts Manager)

This anecdote has several familiar themes. The interviewee begins by saying that the department has 'always had its own ethos ... its own building'. This demonstrates autonomy, as does 'they ran themselves, they were semi-detached'. She talks about the

department's resistance towards 'structures, managerial stuff ... centralisation', as these elements were interpreted as a threat to autonomy. In relation to the network, the participant mentioned that many members of the department are 'ex-practitioners', which shows movement between institutions. Discussing its historical context as 'the most powerful department back in the '40s, '50s and '60s', demonstrates that the network is well-established, that these relationships are deep-rooted and the general culture entrenched. This is similar to the earlier quote by the Government expert adviser who spoke about people knowing each other 'for ages' and 'decades'. When the interviewee refers to the department interpreting centralisation as a 'diminution' of their power, both she and they are acknowledging the power that they hold. The interviewee also recognises the 'quick conversations', accepting that decisions are made through social interactions rather than formalised and transparent processes. She indirectly refers to the loyalty within the network when she says that the department 'turned' to the sector, which 'rose up in defence', suggesting allegiance. At the end of the quote she talks about rebuilding relationships 'overseas', which confirms that the network extends geographically. The word 'tentacles' is noteworthy as it implies ensnarement. Finally, the interviewee mentions the nebulous nature of the British Council's 'reason for being'. Working for an organisation focused on 'cultural diplomacy', she is possibly acknowledging the difficulty in defining and comprehending the concept, which is discussed later in the final case study.

Power Relationships

As well as the influence of key members within the network and their dominant position in the power structure, the data analysis also revealed a vulnerability within other areas. For example, when asked about the inception of the ACE's *International Policy*, a senior strategist clearly expressed the power dynamics:

I'm sure that there was a prompt because the Arts Council tends to get nudged ... so possibly there was some pressure from arts organisations for the Arts Council to declare its stance on internationalism ... it's probably a ground swell of pressure from outside rather than the Arts Council thinking 'we will be international now' (Senior Strategist)

The interviewee suspects that ACE was pushed into action, possibly by the cultural sector. During the interview, she also referred to the museums and galleries as 'drivers' of international work. These comments corroborate the power held by the cultural sector. In addition, one difficulty regarding ACE's stance on internationalism is the nature of the organisation, that is, it was set up to promote art in Great Britain, rather than internationally. So this recent international slant may be at odds with its original constitution. A senior strategist explains:

What I'm interested in is the development of art practices and audiences in this country ... the Arts Council was founded in 1946 and for decades, it thought it was about the production and dissemination of the arts in this country by artists from this country and only in the last 10 years actually has there been sufficient appetite for audiences and artists, and an expectation that international art is delivered locally. So only recently has the Arts Council woken up to the fact that it needed a stance on internationalism, so there was an international policy that was developed in 2003 and it came out of the touring department, so it tells you what the Arts Council originally thought about international ... on the back of that policy which established for the first time actually, the Arts Council's interest in internationalism and made a relationship, though arguably quite tenuous, in policy and financial strategy (Senior Strategist)

This chapter has already discussed how touring programmes are the main focus of international cultural activity. This quote confirms that ACE held the same view. The interviewee also acknowledges the 'tenuous' link between the organisation's policy and internationalism. This weak connection was a major conclusion from the document analysis in Chapter Four and will be discussed further in the following section. The interviewee's use of the phrase 'woken up to' is interesting as it suggests lack of proactivity and inattentiveness. ACE's constitutional confusion, as identified in this quote, continues to the present and was exemplified by the former chairman, Christopher Frayling, who declined to be interviewed for this research, stating:

I think someone from the British Council would be better placed. ACE deals with English-based arts, though it does also have many international links (2009. pers. comm)

ACE's senior strategist also corroborated the findings from the document analysis concerning the lack of direction provided by the organisation in relation to internationalism and the problems surrounding the documents. She said:

1. *So when I joined, we had this policy, we had a strategy, which arguably isn't a strategy ... and there was still, from my perspective, there was still no clarity ... because arts organisations and artists are operating internationally – fact* (Senior Strategist)
2. *One of the big points of feedback was clarify where you operate and where the Arts Council operates* (Senior Strategist)

A similar lack of leadership was expressed by a DCMS policy-maker:

1. *There's a kind of tail wagging dog thing there in that we're not, or we haven't been providing the leadership that we should to say 'actually yeah, this is what we're trying to achieve'* (Senior Policy-Maker)
2. *So there was the Demos thing and James Purnell and David Miliband saying 'yes, this is good, we want more of it' but we didn't actually follow that up at the time with any meaningful programme ... right now if you look at the DCMS website ... if you want to find out what is our position on international culture and cultural diplomacy, there's nothing there* (Senior Policy-Maker)
3. *The thing with so many of the things that purport to be strategy, they are either a list of tasks or a list of aspirations and they don't actually say 'this is where we are, this is where we want to be and this is how we're going to get there'* (Senior Policy-Maker)

In the first quote, by using the phrase the 'tail wagging the dog', the interviewee acknowledges that Government is not in control and instead is being led or directed by the sector or network. Conventionally, it is understood that leadership comes from Government but this case illustrates that the real leaders are those individuals such as Neil MacGregor, who are at senior positions and have access to the top echelons of Government. Whilst it is the cultural elite that makes and takes important decisions and that holds the power, ACE and DCMS are integral to translating these decisions into action. The relationships within the network are therefore symbiotic. The interviewees are openly critical of their own organisations, acknowledging the lack of direction in both their own institutions and others. A DCMS policy-maker stated: 'the Arts Council have not been very clear about what their International Strategy has been.' Whilst an ACE strategist said:

I think DCMS has struggled to see what its role is in this territory ... in the same way that the Arts Council has struggled to see what it uniquely brings to this territory ... I wouldn't say that there's been a compelling, driving strategy for the sector as a whole (Senior Strategist)

A senior manager at the British Council attributed this lack of clarity at ACE to its restructuring:

[internationalism] certainly wasn't built into their restructuring ... it would now be emerging, had they built it into the restructuring (Senior Arts Manager)

Internationalism was not seen as a priority for ACE because of the difficulties in defining its role regarding internationalism. This is striking since it appeared as a strategic goal from 2006-8. For the cultural organisations, their positions are far easier to define as their collections are often global and their constitutions international. The following comments from an arts manager at the British Museum and a curator at the V&A demonstrate this natural alignment in the work of the museums with international practice:

1. *What Neil has done particularly well with this museum since he took over ten years ago is to look at what actually is the core purpose of this place, other than to be a nice visitor attraction in Bloomsbury. Actually, what is the core mission of this museum? And yes we have this collection that we care for on behalf of the nation but how do we go about doing that and if you listen to a lot of what Neil has said or if you read a lot about what he's written, he refers back to our founding principles from 1753 and the reasons why Sir Hans Sloane gave the original bequest and why, what was his motivation for collecting that in the first place ... and that is just as powerful now and probably even more now ... the collection has always represented the world ... I think it's very much going back to that first principle, 'this is a collection that represents the world' and the only way that you're going to represent the world properly, is if you keep maintaining the input from the rest of the world ... objects have complicated cultural identities, lots of different people see lots of different meanings in the same things and so you've got to keep involving those people and making sure that this collection is seen by as wide an audience as possible and the difference between 250 years ago and now is that we can travel large parts of the collection and it can be long-term loans, it can be parts of touring exhibitions and we can make it available on the Internet and I think all of that is Neil's purpose and I think as soon as you've got the security of knowing what the purpose is and this ambition and this challenge of 'nowhere is too difficult' ... that just opens up all sorts of possibilities ... just stick to your founding principle which is that this is a 'collection', Neil's favourite phrase, 'of the world, for the world (Arts Manager 1, emphasis in original)*
2. *The V&A has always been a museum with an international outlook and international collections. It arose out of the Great Exhibition of 1851 which was the world's manufacturers on display in London and it's always taken an interest in displaying works of art and design from different parts of the world, to people in Britain and teaching about them and offering them as examples and sources of educational*

fulfilment. And so we do have an international outlook and we do operate internationally (Senior Curator)

The first quote here centres on Neil MacGregor and his vision. In one sense this is to be expected as the interviewee is speaking from the perspective of a British Museum employee, but at the same time, by repeatedly mentioning him, his approach and even adopting his phraseology, she reinforces his power and influence. The use of language is interesting as she says 'stick to your founding principle'. Going back to the founding principle provides an indisputable and compelling argument for international work as the museum is essentially just doing what it was set up to do; it is fulfilling its original mission. As the interviewee states it is 'just as powerful now and probably even more now'. The second quote expresses the same sentiment of internationalism being inherent to the V&A, which is simply doing what it has always done. The original founding principles are used as a rationalisation for international interest and activity. In addition, their globally significant collections mean that they hold cultural value. By drawing on their original missions, a clear message is communicated that the museums wish to remain true to their roots. The culture and philosophy of the institutions has not changed, their outlook has always been international and therefore their work is more relevant today than it has ever been. Moreover, due to the distinct nature of the organisations and their work, they are the only institutions that are able to do this international work and as such, gain further power. This is especially the case when the argument is underpinned by research into the importance of the arts as a diplomatic tool of international relations. This puts the cultural organisations in a strong position and exacerbates the difficulties faced by the DCMS and ACE in defining their roles in this wider landscape. This sense of having a 'unique offering' was discussed numerous times by an ACE senior strategist:

1. *This is the really tough thing - to identify what are the one or two things that the Arts Council can uniquely do for the sector and all of those are still a work in progress ... if we had perfect clarity about where and precisely how we added most value, we could consolidate all those things into one glorious hit that would really add value to the sector (Senior Strategist, emphasis in original)*
2. *What interests me is what can the Arts Council do to unlock international opportunities for artists and arts organisations that no other agency or body can and therefore that's where we should be targeting public subsidy ... and this is the ideal*

bit, that the agencies are adding value where they can only uniquely add value
(Senior Strategist)

For the cultural organisations, their role is clear and easy to rationalise, their historical mission making a compelling and powerful argument. Interviewees argued that the institutions were aware of their 'unique offering' and the power held within the organisations:

1. *You can see that Government also feels how very important these cultural links are and how political and other things can follow ... I'm not saying that culture always leads but ... it's soft and important, and don't think that Government isn't interested in successful relationships with cultural organisations internationally ... relationships that can be transformative and can open the way then for other sorts of negotiation, it's obviously part of the mix that's extremely useful to Government, and Government knows that* (Museum Director)
2. *Museums in international life are special spaces that are a kind of national representation that is ... generally less politically charged than other prominent and prestigious national spaces, they offer a possibility for international contact to which other venues possibly don't* (Senior Curator)
3. *There was a role for cultural organisations in that very traditional way of providing fairly neutral spaces where those elites could still meet and a really good example of that is the Iranian exhibition at the British Museum where you have Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary at the time, standing next to, I think it was the Deputy President or Deputy Prime Minister of Iran, in a sphere where it would have been very difficult to get them together in other circumstances. So it provided that kind of neutral, relaxed space* (Senior Policy Adviser)
4. *We've been very careful to make sure what we did with World Collections always comes back to the collections so it's work that only we could do ... because it relates back to the collections, specific parts of the collections, or it's the expertise that's attached to those particular parts of the collections and that expertise doesn't exist anywhere else and that's what we're opening access to and that would be very difficult for the British Council ... there are the areas of expertise that don't crossover. As soon as the Foreign Office start employing curators or art historians or whatever, I'm sure that would be different!* (Arts Manager 1, emphasis in original)

The first quote here acknowledges 'soft power' in a diplomatic sense. This concept is recognised in the second quote, which posits the museum as a 'neutral' space. The interviewee in the third quote directly refers to this neutrality and sees this as an opportunity for the arts to engage with senior political figures. The fourth quotation sums up this idea of a unique offering with the interviewee clearly stating that the

international activity is work that 'only we can do'. Her comment illustrates the power held within the institution, which is rooted in the collection and through the expertise held within the organisation. Both of these elements are used strategically, offering no room for alternatives. Her joke about the Foreign Office indicates her confidence and security in this position. Fundamentally, this demonstrates a power structure underpinned by the individuals involved, the nature of their organisations and the network which they both constitute and operate within.

These arguments carry greater weight when viewed in combination with the ideas and commentary from the first case study, regarding the inversion of instrumental policies through the strategic appropriation of the concept by powerful individuals. As this case study has shown, the power is held in the hands of a few. Policy is made through interactions between the elite and not through formal documents. The next section explores the role and purpose of these documents.

GROUP 3 - DOCUMENTS AND TERMS

This section investigates the role of written policy, focusing on the documents pertaining to internationalism. A number of issues are explored including the lack of awareness of the documents, their lack for clarity, their strategic role aside from their widely perceived function and the varied understanding and multiple interpretations surrounding key terms.

The previous case studies have demonstrated how the WCP was created through the proactive nature of key individuals. Simultaneously, international documents were published, three of which were analysed here. The following case study uses the data obtained from the interviews to further explore the role and nature of these documents within policy-making. Again, this is followed by the final thematic map before progressing onto the discussion.

CASE STUDY 3 - International Policies and Strategies

In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of the relevance of international cultural cooperation. This can be observed through the creation of documents relating to internationalism and the prominence of 'internationalism' as a strategic priority for cultural organisations, agencies and Government departments. Despite this, little information exists on these strategies and policies, except for a small amount of detail on the respective websites of the organisations involved. In addition, there was a lack of awareness of the policies and strategies amongst the interviewees and of those who were aware of the documents, many felt that they lacked clarity.

Internationalism became a priority for ACE in its 2006-8 corporate plan which followed the publication of its *International Policy* in June 2005. Four months prior to this, a new senior post was created in February 2005 for a 'Head of International Strategy', with responsibility for:

driving forward our innovative and exciting International Strategy ... promote international working, create key partnerships and take responsibility for specific aspects of the strategy ... raising the profile of the Arts Council's international activities, increasing investment and fostering new relationships for international working (Visiting Arts website)

An ACE document entitled *Grants for the Arts – International Activity*, stated that the policy was developed in consultation with the DCMS and British Council 'as well as a range of artists and arts organisations' (2010:1). The document preceded all of the other international documents by at least 18 months. It emphasises ACE's international remit, its continuous support of creative individuals in the development of world-class arts organisations, its approach to cultural diversity and the contribution of the arts to growth in other areas through an instrumental lens. ACE's website states that the policy:

Builds on and extends our long-standing commitment to international working and provides a strategic framework for collaboration internationally. Our approach to internationalism begins with the artist. We aim to support artists and arts organisations to consistently develop and present their work without geographical or

political limitation in an international context and thereby develop and maintain their networks, reputation, recognition and position internationally (ACE website)

Despite this statement, there was a lack of recognition of the document amongst the interviewees in this study.

In May 2006, another document was published by ACE entitled *Internationalism: from policy to delivery*. This was an update of the international cultural work and activities that had been undertaken since the publication of the policy. The document states that: 'The policy statement has been widely welcomed' (2006:1). Again, a contradiction can be seen with this study.

A similar approach to internationalism was taken by the DCMS, which published its *International Strategy* in October 2006. This document is positioned within the broader context of the FCO's ten strategic objectives, listing these priorities before outlining its own five international goals and then showing how the aims of the two departments interrelate. The document states that it will be reviewed every two years in line with the FCO's review of the country's international priorities and that the first review will take place in 2008. Despite this pledge, no further update has been published. Similarly, ACE's *International Policy* discusses the publication of an update in light of the review of public diplomacy work undertaken by Lord Carter on behalf of the FCO (ACE, 2005:3). However, no further update to the strategy has been published to date, although as previously mentioned, its progress has been reported. This progress report on international activity was published in November 2007 by the DCMS. This document is based on the DCMS's five strategic goals and each section outlines the international activity that has taken place and which elements will be monitored as part of the implementation of its *International Strategy*.

The DCMS began developing a *Cultural Foreign Policy*, a process that despite being in development for over four years, was not pursued. Its early aims were to:

encourage and support the cultural sector to develop international partnerships in areas of specific cultural and/or UK Government priority; and to advocate the value of culture in diplomacy and establish, with the FCO, the British Council and our NDPB's, appropriate mechanisms to best realise the full benefit of international cultural activity

to diplomacy, development and as part of post conflict restoration (Reason, 2008. pers. comm)

This firmly places internationalism within the context of political diplomacy.

This activity in policy development by ACE and DCMS has coincided with international strategies being devised at an organisational level. The British Museum's *International Strategy* was published in December 2006, two months after that of the DCMS. Tate's strategy is currently in development and the V&A's *International Strategy*, published in March 2006, can be found on its website. These documents seek to align themselves with wider political objectives. In July 2010, the V&A appointed a *Head of International Strategy*, a new position to oversee this area of the museum's work. Two new posts have been created at the British Museum to undertake the administration of the WCP.

The minority of interviewees who were aware of these written policies were highly critical of them due to their lack of clarity and direction. As the document analysis demonstrated, the policy and strategies lacked operational detail and did not contain any reference key terminology such as 'cultural diplomacy', a term used in the rhetoric surrounding 'internationalism'. In addition, there was also a lack of consensus within those interviewed about the terminology and its usage.

Before exploring the issues around the documents and terms, the final thematic map can be observed in figure 7, which will be explained through the discussion in this section.

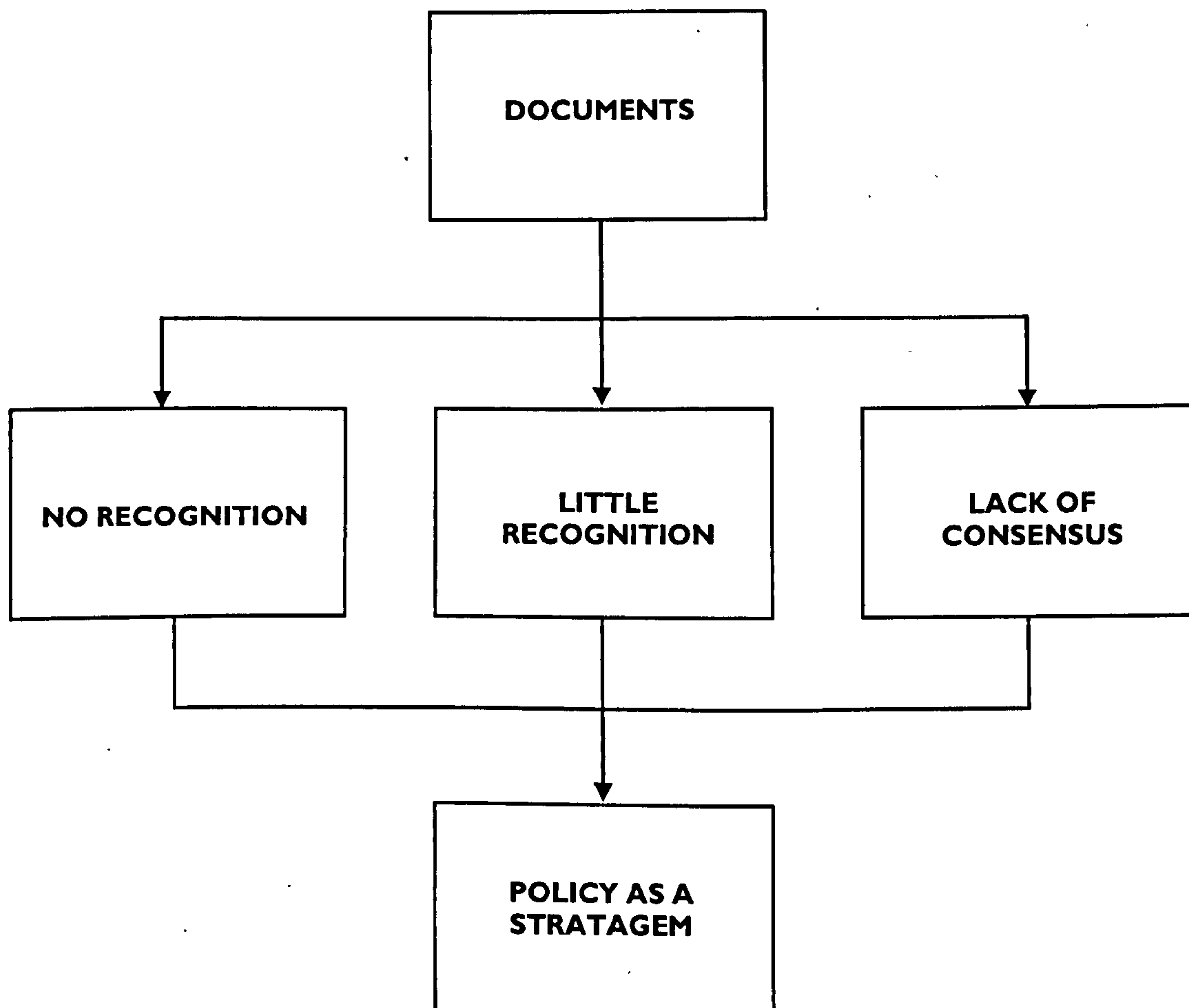


Figure 7 – Final Thematic Map of Group Three – Documents and Terms

Knowledge of the Documents

Both ACE and DCMS's documents are readily available on the websites of the respective organisations and are freely downloadable. Prior to the document analysis, it was assumed that the audience for these documents would be artists and practitioners, similar to those sampled in the research. Of the fifteen people interviewed, less than half were aware of the documents, and of these, none of the artists were familiar with the documents. Those that were aware of them had either worked on their creation or belonged to the organisations that authored them. The following comments are typical responses when questioned about their knowledge of these documents:

1. *I'm not fully aware of it (Artist 2)*

2. *I'm not familiar with current policy as it is written for the DCMS (Independent Curator)*
3. *I would assume that there was an existence of those documents but I'm not familiar with what their content is (Artist 4)*
4. *I don't know anything about these policies...I don't even know what an international policy is, it sounds like something from UNESCO ... are they created for artists or are they created for organisations? I don't know anything about it (Artist 3)*
5. *Frankly, no. I mean, I may have read the Arts Council's but, you know, and it must overlap in some respects with Turning Point, I guess? (Gallery Director)*
6. *No I'm not [familiar with the documents], no, but I'm sure that other people here might be ... what was the Arts Council's called? Does it have a title? ... I'd be interested in looking at those documents (Arts Manager 2)*

The interviewees who claimed to be familiar with them were not confident in discussing them:

1. *I think the Arts Council's International Policy ... I haven't actually seen it yet because it was in development. Has it come out? I think it is the revised version that I haven't seen (Museum Director)*
2. *To tell you the truth I can't remember a huge amount around them (Senior Policy Adviser)*
3. *I probably have read them many times over but I haven't read them in the last two years so I'm not immediately familiar with them. So, yeah, I mean other than knowing that there is a huge drive towards diversity and collaboration across audiences whether that's local or international, I know that's at the forefront of thinking but the detail of that, I don't know (Arts Manager 1)*
4. *Am I aware of them? <pause> I probably am, I probably don't have a hugely detailed understanding of them (Senior Strategist)*

In the first quote, the interviewee shows some confusion about a revised version of the document. The second quote suggests that the documents are not very memorable. This quote came from a Demos researcher who was involved in the research on cultural diplomacy, so it should be assumed that he has at least read these documents. The third quote demonstrates a lack of familiarity with the content and by stating that she has not read them in the last two years, suggests that they are not working documents. The final quote in this section is from a senior ACE strategist

who, surprisingly, had little knowledge of either document. An expert adviser to the Minister of Culture gave a similar response, but crucially, did not know of the existence of the DCMS's written *International Strategy*. This revelation can be observed through the following exchange:

MN: *When you're putting together something like the International Strategy...*

I don't really, I mean, do we have an International Strategy actually? (Expert Adviser, emphasis in original)

MN: *Yes you do, it's on your website!*

Do we? Oh really, what's it say?! (Expert Adviser)

MN: *Well...erm... it's about galvanising the country and it's about being competitive and world-class and sustainable...*

Okay, so it says some of that, well that's good. You see, I don't have much knowledge of that (Expert Adviser)

MN: *Where does that come from then?*

It comes from civil servants ... So, do I know what the international policy is on the website? No. I'm pleased and surprised to hear that it says some of the things that I've just been saying! (Expert Adviser)

The policy document does not seem to be important or relevant to those interviewed. They are not working strategies as they are not referred to within everyday practice. Neither have they been created to instruct or guide behaviour. In addition, the target audience for these documents is not the organisations and artists employed within the cultural sector, otherwise they would be familiar with them. Thus, this corroborates the findings from the document analysis concerning the audience.

The expert adviser was probed further on the purpose of the DCMS's document. The interviewee colourfully responded:

I don't know who wrote it, it was probably, you know, it was an exercise, they'll have given it to some bright person, the exercise, and because we don't really have an international strategy, it sounds like they've done quite well to deduce from the things that we try to do, what our policy might be! (Expert Adviser, emphasis in original)

There is a belief that policy is shared on a 'need to know' basis; that the important people will not only be familiar with it but will have created it and there is no reason for others to know. This diminishes the role of the civil servants, viewing them as unimportant and merely compiling documents post-hoc, trying to make sense of the minimal information available. It also corroborates the quote in the last section which told the story of the conference and the junior civil servant presenting various policy diagrams. It was the same interviewee who said 'why would he know?' Policy is believed to be only for closed circles and not for wider circulation. Whilst internationalism is one of the DCMS's priorities, there is no written strategy or policy, but rather, it exists as verbal exchanges and in action, through the WCP. This raises questions about the role of these documents and who they are directed towards, thus strengthening the arguments put forward in the previous chapter.

An ex-civil servant, now arts manager at the British Museum, provides further insight into the role of the DCMS document:

I don't know if it necessarily is able to drive international work, if they wanted to try and lead it. I'm aware of it, I've read it, I have it here as part of the many different strategies but I'd rather know what the Foreign Office's plans for the Middle East are to be honest because that's obviously Government as a whole, so International Strategy and DCMS follow that (Arts Manager 1)

So the DCMS's strategy is not used as a working document. The interviewee mentions the strategy not being effective in 'leading' international work and she refers to the FCO publication as the one that informs practice as it represents Government 'as a whole'. This perhaps suggests that the DCMS is not viewed as an important part of Government. The second case study touched upon the marginalisation of the department in the context of the power held within the cultural organisations. The interviewee goes on to say that the DCMS strategy 'follows' FCO policy, thus reflecting an instrumental framework. Through the documents, instrumental concessions are made in order to access the benefits attached to working internationally.

Policy as a Stratagem

If there is a written strategy for internationalism, this case study so far demonstrates that it is not the ACE or DCMS documents. There is an evident need to differentiate between 'written' and 'actual' policy. There are written documents which claim to be policy but as the interview data has demonstrated, the real policy in this area is made and communicated verbally. The previous case studies have proposed the idea of a highly networked cultural elite that influence Government and make policy through social interactions. The interview data has answered some of the questions from the document analysis and has corroborated its conclusions about the ambiguous role of the documents.

When questioned about the purpose and role of the DCMS's publication, an ex-civil servant, offered her thoughts:

Obviously there is day-to-day business that has to be taken care of ... and their [DCMS] strategy obviously has to cover culture, media and sport and broadcasting, film production, so there's a massive portfolio to try and put into one document ... I think they needed a strategy ... I'm not sure what the audience was for it and that was part of the problem (Arts Manager 1, emphasis in original)

The department 'needed' a strategy, although the interviewee does not elaborate on the reason why. She also mentions some confusion about the intended audience, which strengthens the case for the readership not being the cultural sector, as proven by very few interviewees being aware of the documents. Her comments concerning the audience hint at a lack of clarity within the document. Commentary from ACE's senior strategist may offer an insight into the idea of 'needing' a strategy. In the following exchange taken from the interview, the participant discusses the audience for the document:

Some of the audience will have definitely been internal, and that's probably true for all of Arts Council's policies/strategies in the last eight years, that there's been an element of 'we're going to do this and we're going to do this as a whole organisation' and so there's an internal thing (Senior Strategist)

MN: So maybe there's something in the process of putting them together that's good for the Arts Council, in terms of focusing internal attention and direction? (emphasis in original)

Absolutely, yes, absolutely (Senior Strategist)

MN: So the International Policy was just a tool for saying 'yes, we wholeheartedly support internationalism'?

Yeah. 'We are interested for the first time' or 'we have stance on it', yes (Senior Strategist)

This conversation shows the importance of the strategy as an internal management tool, helping to clarify the organisation's stance on internationalism and generating a shared sense of understanding. This idea of strategies having internal functions was also discussed by several interviewees. It was mentioned by a senior curator, who discussed her museum's approach to internationalism and the importance of their written strategy:

it directs museum staff to give them a sense of why working internationally matters and which kinds of activities we will undertake and how we'll prioritise them (Senior Curator)

A policy-maker at the DCMS also discussed the document as a strategy of internal relations. He said:

I think the International Strategy ... was largely a more internal kind of management tool for us ... the pressure on our resources means that we needed to look at that activity as we've looked at every other area of activity ... it's about how we make sure that is working, all those things are dovetailing as efficiently as possible and that we're again, even within DCMS, pointing in the same direction and that doesn't happen by accident, you've got to kind of make that happen (Senior Policy-Maker)

The interviewee also suggested that there was a strategic need for the DCMS to create the document:

That strategy, if we can call it a strategy at all, is really a collection of tasks that are prompted or driven by wider operational necessity rather than any philosophical underpinning of our desire to engage with the international agenda (Senior Policy-Maker)

Similarly to the ex-civil servant, this interviewee also adds to the sense of the department 'needing' to produce the strategy, in that it was driven by 'wider operational necessity'. Both these comments suggest that the DCMS is reactive and corroborate a number of points made earlier about the DCMS and ACE not providing leadership. This, in turn, fuels the discussion about the power held by the cultural organisations, exemplified through the elite. In the quote above, by stating 'if we can call it a strategy', the interviewee acknowledges that the document is not actually a strategy, as in its title. He understands the various roles that policy can play and recognises that few of these are actually about directing action. At the same time, he believes that the purpose of cultural policy is to reflect what is prioritised higher up the political hierarchy, raising questions similar to those in the last chapter about the nature of cultural policy and what its purpose should be.

It is useful now to look at another example in which policy is used as a strategic tool. The following exchange taken from the interview with the Government expert adviser exemplifies this. She is discussing a report on artistic excellence by Brian McMaster, as previously discussed in the literature review. She states:

So we plan some policies ... and one of them was that we would commission Brian McMaster to write a report on excellence and we knew him very well so we knew what he would say ... So that puts international quality centre stage really, that says 'look, the benchmark for public funding in the arts is that it should be world-class' and for us that was a very important foot in the door to shift the way you think about art and the relationship between public subsidy and artistic stuff (Expert Adviser)

This was further explored in the interview:

MN: So you said earlier that you knew what that [the McMaster report] was going to be and what he would write, so was that part of a strategy for persuasion?

Yes, persuade and make change, although not really even persuade (Expert Adviser)

MN: Just to make things happen?

Yes...certainly for us, McMaster and excellence was a way of trying to kill that 'art for art's sake versus instrumentalism' and 'access versus excellence', it was a way of going 'no, no, no' (Expert Adviser)

With the McMaster report, it could be argued that the DCMS went 'through the motions' of a consultation. The quote above shows that it was a ritual and a way of using policy as a strategic vehicle or catalyst. The participant knew McMaster 'very well', thus showing the network again to be active. She refers to the report as if it were a policy, thus demonstrating the loose definition of the word. Finally, the interviewee also confirms that the commissioning of the McMaster report was a proactive step to overcome the unhelpfully polarised instrumental/intrinsic debate.

Such examples show how both policy itself and the process of its making have been used strategically to create change, show compliance and internally manage. There were many more instances of the use of policy as a form of strategy. The policy process is often more important than the 'end' policy and that it is not actually about translating the policies into action, as many would assume or believe.

Terminology and Concepts: Recognition, Interpretation and Refutation

All fifteen interviews explored the concept of cultural diplomacy and whilst the artists were less comfortable with both the term and the practice, all of those working within cultural organisations were accepting of the term and comfortable in discussing it.

The interviewees can be roughly categorised into two groups - those that had no recognition of key terms such as cultural diplomacy and others who used the terms in an ambiguous way. When participants were asked if they had an awareness and understanding of the term cultural diplomacy, typical responses were:

1. *No, I don't think I have [heard of cultural diplomacy] (Artist 1)*
2. *I'm not following you... <confusion> (Arts Manager 2)*
3. *How do you define cultural diplomacy? (Gallery Director)*

In addition, several respondents offered a different interpretation of the terms. In Chapter Two, it was observed that some academic writers were keen to differentiate between the terms cultural diplomacy and cultural relations, clearly stating that the

former was the business of Government. Despite this academic understanding, the interviewees had a different view of the term:

1. *That's sometimes where that kind of cultural diplomacy flourishes, where the institutions come up with it separately (Arts Manager 1)*
2. *It is important that cultural diplomacy is not overtly driven by Government aims (Expert Adviser)*
3. *Governments supporting artists to offer eclectic, subjective views does support the cultural diplomacy of that government because it not only says that 'we support the arts but look how invested our artists are', but it also says 'we support freedom in the arts' (Artist 1)*

These quotes, respectively by an arts manager, a Government expert adviser and an artist, use the concept differently from the scholarly texts. The first quote indicates a belief that the diplomatic drive comes from the sector itself and is not initiated by the Government for political aims. Similarly, the interviewee in the second quote believes that cultural diplomacy should not be driven by political goals. Both differ from the academic understanding of the term. The third quote shows some confusion about the term, seeing cultural diplomacy as a kind of investment in the arts. The Government expert adviser added to this:

We also invented a fund to give to Neil MacGregor and the World Collections to allow Neil and his colleagues to have some free money, if you like, to do, inverted commas, 'cultural diplomacy' (Expert Adviser)

By stating that cultural diplomacy was in 'inverted commas', she acknowledges the loose interpretation of the term. The use of the phrase 'free money' also implies that there are no obligations, prescription or direction for the cultural organisations and, more specifically, Neil MacGregor. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it removes the political motivations from the equation.

There were many similar instances throughout the interviews. A senior curator was asked about her museum's cultural diplomacy work and the exchange below shows another interpretation of the concept:

MN: You mentioned earlier 'cultural diplomacy international tours', could you talk a little bit about that? Is that cultural diplomacy in a political sense or is it more...

<Interrupts> I think it's more to do with expressing something about Britain, which I don't think is a particularly political thing, it's more a flavour of Britain, it's part of what, I mean, I don't know whether this is true or not but in my opinion, part of what makes Britain what it is, is the richness of its cultural life, it's the availability of Government-funded free visual arts organisations and a rich and subsidised public art provision around the country, in its great towns particularly (Senior Curator)

So the interviewee sees diplomacy as a display of nationalism, a proud representation of the country's art and its cultural infrastructure. When discussing diplomacy earlier in the interview, she states:

strategically I guess the thing that does slightly guide us is the need to be commercial and maximise the revenue that we can make out of our touring shows, plus the need to look forward to those areas of the world which are going to be tomorrow's powerhouses and not find ourselves left behind by the turn of events (Senior Curator)

In this quote, the participant believes that diplomacy is driven by commercialism and the need to have relationships with emerging superpowers, presumably for future financial benefit. In Chapter Two, I showed that cultural diplomacy was a difficult term to locate and to describe, although there was a general understanding that it was rooted in political motivations. The interview data demonstrates that there is a diverse and idiosyncratic range of interpretations of the term by those within the cultural sector, who believe that their international activity constitutes 'diplomatic' work. The quotes also illustrate a lack of consensus between the practitioners about the term. For another interviewee, cultural diplomacy was seen as:

a spirit of cultural enquiry and enrichment both locally and around the world, it's as much about innovation and excellence as it is about economic growth (Expert Adviser)

Not only are there different interpretations but people view cultural diplomacy in a very personal way, a point unacknowledged or unrecognised by the literature. A senior arts manager from the British Council acknowledges the variety of differing perspectives and confirms the lack of uniformity:

They're [cultural diplomacy and cultural relations] fundamentally different ... but these are not definitions which I think you would find replicated even if you walked around this building, you would find quite a lot of similarity but not absolute and once you got outside and once you got to the Foreign Office, you would find different definitions (Senior Arts Manager)

This comment confirms that diverse interpretations not only exist within different departments across the same organisation, but that this extends to the Government. The British Council is funded directly by the FCO to undertake 'cultural relations', yet there is no consensus on what this term means. This is clearly problematic, potentially leading to difficulties if the Government believes it is funding diplomatic work and the cultural sector conducts work which it believes to be diplomatic but which does not correspond with the Government's understanding.

Variation within the understanding of the term 'cultural relations' was also found. The literature on cultural relations firmly locates the term on the notion of 'exchange' and 'reciprocity'. However, the term cultural relations was barely recognised by the interviewees. It was also used interchangeably with cultural diplomacy, such as:

Cultural diplomacy is really about mutuality, it's about forging equal understanding is, that's where you really start making progress (Senior Policy Adviser)

MN: From my reading, I got the sense that what you've talked about, this kind of two-way exchange and learning and sharing, comes under the term 'cultural relations', rather than cultural diplomacy?

Yes I think you're right but we shouldn't get too hung up on the terminology ... I think it's all rather fuzzy these days ... where does diplomacy end and relations start? (Senior Policy Adviser)

This quote confirms the nebulous interpretation of the terms and a lack of interest in differentiating them. This interviewee was responsible for the Demos research on cultural diplomacy, so it may have been assumed that this person would have a greater awareness of the formal distinctions. As was observed in the literature review, the Demos report itself used the terms loosely and interchangeably. This raises the question of whether these are academic terms, where scholars are trying to make sense of what is happening and so impose delineations that are neither used or recognised in practice. This has parallels with the commentary on instrumental policies

and the differences between how it is conceptualised by scholars and how it is played out in practice.

Similarly, when asked about instrumental policies, some interviewees expressed confusion. Two artists admitted that they had only thought about it in relation to their funding for the first time during the interview. Another artist discussed the prominence of Chinese artwork, in his opinion, due to it being fashionable, but did not relate this to the wider political context, with the country seen as an emerging superpower and British foreign relations focussing on the country. The following exchange, taken from an interview with an arts manager, illustrates a lack of recognition of the term:

MN: There's lots of debate within the sector about the arts being used to fulfil political objectives and from what I can understand, the international side of things, some would call it cultural diplomacy, seems to be 'flying under the radar' in terms of the instrumental debate...

<Interviewee shows confusion>

MN: Previously there has been discussion about things like community cohesion, which you mentioned, and I know that there's been some feeling about it being very prescriptive and directive, and limiting organisations and individuals, but in terms of internationalism there doesn't seem to be the same debate going on and I'm interested in why people don't feel like that

<Interviewee shows confusion>

MN: Although there are political motivations to do international work in certain areas or with certain groups, there doesn't seem to be an idea that it's prescriptive...

I'm not following you, sorry... (Arts Manager 2)

MN: With previous cultural policies like community cohesion and social inclusion ... there has been a lot of debate in the arts about those policies being too instrumental and directing too much, and organisations feeling restricted, like their integrity has been compromised or quality has been jeopardised ... but with international work ... this doesn't seem to be the case. Does that make sense?

<Interviewee shows confusion>

MN: There is this term called instrumentalism, which people in the sector use...

Yes, yes (Arts Manager 2)

MN: ...and I want to know why internationalism is different because it's not seen as instrumental, whereas policies which are to do with...

<Interrupts> Oh, I see, yes... (Arts Manager 2)

MN: ...engaging communities are seen as instrumental

<Pause> I'm a little confused actually at the question... (Arts Manager 2)

This exchange shows that 'instrumentalism' is not a term which is extensively used or fully grasped by those within the cultural sector. This was raised in the first case study where instrumentalism was shown to be a conceptualisation of a process, rather than an explicit principle or an objective of policy. People do not relate to 'instrumentalism' but to the processes which the word nominates. This distinction and precision is important to comprehend how the term is understood across the sector.

Some interviewees also rejected 'cultural diplomacy' as a concept. It was primarily the artists who either fervently disagreed with it or denied its existence. The following exchange, taken from an interview with an artist exemplifies this:

MN: So some would argue that art has a role to play in international relations as a tool of political diplomacy...

<Interrupts> No <Interviewee shakes his head> (Artist 3)

MN: <Pauses>

That's like saying 'wok cooking has a role in international diplomacy' or haberdashery or Formula One racing. That's ridiculous, isn't it? (Artist 3)

Similarly, another artist became visibly aggravated at the mention of cultural diplomacy. The quote below shows her irritation with the term and the concept:

Well, as you say that [cultural diplomacy], part of me feels agitated ... can you say that again? Say that sentence again, just the question again and then I want to just unpick it a bit ... I hate it when it's used to be diplomatic, with that intention in mind, I think art can bridge cultures and I think it does it brilliantly but not when diplomacy is the thing, is the main driver. I think it works best when there is an authentic relationship between communities and when that's the impetus, then you do create the role of diplomacy but I think it needs to come that way around, not the other way around (Independent Curator)

These quotes, in turn, demonstrate a refusal to recognise the term and a rejection of the concept as an element of artistic practice. What has emerged strongly in this section is that the terms are used loosely and ambiguously, and do not resemble the formal definitions and interpretations used by the academic literature. In attempting to conceptualise what is happening, the interpretations by the scholars do not capture the nuances shown within this case.

Furthermore, the interview transcripts collectively totalled over 130,000 words. The words 'exchange' or 'exchanges' were mentioned only 43 times by ten interviewees and of these, two participants mentioned them thirteen and fifteen times. 'Reciprocity' and 'reciprocal' was mentioned only seven times in total by only four interviewees, so eleven of those interviewed did not mention the word at all. The term 'cultural diplomacy' was mentioned 42 times. Interestingly, the term 'cultural relations' was mentioned only eight times and six of these instances were from the interview with the British Council manager, where the term would be expected to be used. The key points here are that these terms are not used ordinarily by those interviewed, which suggests that they are not used in practice more generally. However, through the WCP lobbying, the entire Demos report hinges on the notion of cultural diplomacy. This demonstrates how those within the cultural elite used it to tap into a key area of political interest. They argued for the crucial role of culture within diplomatic work and offered no room for alternatives. They put forward goals that only the arts could deliver, thence positioning themselves at the centre of the solution. Still, cultural diplomacy may not extend beyond the rhetoric. That is, there is a need to be seen to be instrumental, rather than *be* instrumental. The woolly terms and definitions used by all, in addition to their loose applications, are helpful towards this end.

Conclusions

Looking across the three groups, the findings illustrate a complex picture. Internationalism is promoted by Government as a political priority and is consequently championed by the DCMS and ACE as reflections of wider policy. However, the documents about internationalism produced by these organisations are barely recognised, criticised and dismissed as ineffectual by the cultural sector.

The Demos research was strategically commissioned and utilised by the sector to lobby Government. This document is pivotal to understanding how an instrumental approach to cultural policies was exploited to formulate an innovative policy that enabled an expansion of existing cultural activity.

The data showed how the everyday work of the cultural organisations can be loosely related to the FCO's work, through the creative use of rhetoric. Because of the geographical areas specified in the WCP, the everyday work of the cultural organisations could be labelled 'cultural diplomacy'. This serves as justification by the cultural sector and the DCMS to the Treasury and FCO for the £3m budgetary allocation of the WCP. Through the Demos research and the use of the rhetoric of cultural diplomacy, the organisations seized an opportunity to place themselves as central and integral to both the nation's economic prosperity and positive diplomatic relations. Yet once the rhetoric has been used successfully, there is no real need to contribute to political objectives in practical terms.

The third group showed that despite the diplomatic rhetoric, the key terms were used loosely. Whilst many statements were made about 'cultural diplomacy', it was not clear exactly what differentiated this from other non-diplomatic activity. 'Cultural relations', an alternative term to justify the work of cultural organisations, was barely used. This highlighted a disparity between how the terms are defined and described by the academic literature and how they are used by practitioners. This discrepancy between the concepts, their labels and usage, pitch academic concepts against everyday terms. This schism results from scholarly interpretations not translating to practice.

The interviews also demonstrated that relationships between key individuals are crucial in this complex set of negotiations. These often personal and long-standing connections span Government, ACE and the cultural sector to form a strong and cohesive network. An exclusive circle or 'cultural elite' formulated policy through informal, social interactions at dinners, trips and other social events, largely away from public view. This leads to the notion of 'real' and 'actual' policies versus those that have ulterior and strategic purposes. For example, in this case, the latter would

represent the written policy documents. Conversely, the 'real' policy, that is, the WCP, exists largely as the basis of conversations, from its conceptualisation through to its implementation, and concerns only a small number of individuals and organisations.

Groups one and two revealed problems in the literature on instrumental policies. The published work largely focuses on the detrimental effect of instrumental policies upon cultural organisations and the resistance of the sector towards them, which supposedly lead to conflict, with the sector and Government pitched against one another. On the contrary, the interview data shows a wealth of benefits and opportunities offered by instrumental policies which the sector has not only encouraged but exploited to engineer a new instrumental policy.

This demonstrates that nuances exist within instrumental policies. It shows that such policies can be beneficial, open and non-prescriptive. Furthermore, they are flexible and can be easily manipulated in order to satisfy a range of personal and professional agendas. Instrumental policies are unrecognised by some, as well as viewed as coincidental by others. The sector and Government enjoy a symbiotic relationship. This subtle and multifaceted account of instrumental policies is not acknowledged by the literature. Such new dimensions need to be incorporated into a reformulated approach to understand instrumentalism.

The next chapter draws upon a range of examples from political science, to consider how far the findings in this thesis are unique, before a number of overarching conclusions are offered in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

Policy Sector Comparisons

Introduction

This research has provided a picture of how cultural policy, in this instance, is initiated, formulated, expressed and implemented. The analysis of the interview data in the previous chapter uncovered the hidden mechanics of policy-making and drew attention to the role, nature and significance of particular individuals, documents and processes. It argued that policy-making is a concealed process, not in the sense that it is secret, but rather, that it happens in private and informally between a small and exclusive group of individuals through verbal exchanges and social interactions. This results in a largely veiled process that lacks transparency and is inaccessible to a wider audience, which, as well as being remote from it, does not learn the details of the policy until it is more fully developed and implemented.

Chapter Five focused on the creation of the WCP, a policy that was initiated by the cultural sector itself, which expanded the scale and scope of its existing work. The analysis of this process demonstrated a fragmentation between the published literature in the field of cultural policy studies and the case presented in this thesis. It is, then, crucial to consider how and why this discrepancy has occurred.

The starting point here was to look at other descriptions of the policy-making process within cultural policy studies, to ascertain whether the account presented in this research is replicated elsewhere. However, it quickly became apparent that this material did not exist. As Woddis (2005) points out, within cultural policy studies, the policy-making process has not received sufficient attention. Woddis is one of the few scholars to explore the role of cultural practitioners within the making of policy. She notes the 'surprising omission that the issue of practitioner involvement in cultural policy activity has remained largely unrecognised among researchers in the field' (2005:2). Woddis argues that theatre practitioners have been involved in the formation and implementation of policy since the establishment of the Arts Council, thus challenging the 'common perception' (2005:1) that practitioners have little or no involvement in cultural policy activity. However, she concludes that they are not

acknowledged in the policy-making process. The findings in this thesis may offer some explanation for Woddis's conclusions. Practitioners may not be recognised because the process underpinning their involvement is largely hidden and therefore, their role is simply not visible.

As the cultural policy literature fails to document the policy-making process, I began to look outside of the field, to studies within the discipline of political science. A number of examples were soon discovered that resonate with the intricacies of this case.

This short chapter will demonstrate how the making of cultural policy, in this instance, can be compared with several cases from social policy. A range of illustrative examples are provided that show comparable characteristics with the formulation of the WCP. This variety of material is not intended to be exhaustive. Instead, this selection offers a sufficiently adequate foundation to demonstrate that the findings in this study are not new, unique or distinct; but rather, that they show commonalities to the making of policy more generally. The material presented in this chapter demonstrates that there are significant groups and individuals in the making of policy. However, despite their pivotal roles, they remain largely unacknowledged in the process. These participants are frequently found outside of government and their involvement is often informal.

Concealment and Coproduction

This discussion begins with the example of penal policy in the UK. The findings from Schlesinger and Tumber's study into criminal justice policy exhibits parallels with this case. The research examined how crime is reported by the national media and the relationships between the journalists who report crime and their sources of information such as the Home Office, the Police, pressure groups and professional associations. Schlesinger and Tumber conducted interviews over a two year period and found evidence of powerful individuals and groups operating within closed, elite circles. They argue:

those with policy expertise have their own way of communicating with themselves. The rest of us may listen in to the passing messages if we are so inclined (1994:272)

The researchers found that the most influential individuals were not Government officials but members of the media and other non-party political players such as select pressure groups. These people were found to shape public priorities through their interrelations with each other, that is, their 'tacit collusion' (1994:72) in lobbying for certain policy directives and controlling the media, and how this results in the emergence of policy pronouncements. Similar to this study, Schlesinger and Tumber found that there was 'considerable movement of personnel between the [pressure] groups, and all the major actors knew each other' (1994:70). In this research, the small and exclusive group shown to influence policy is the elite core of a wider network. The previous chapter described both the features of this network and explained the basis of its strength, coherence and potency. Its power can be partially attributed to its porous boundaries geographically and demarcations institutionally, resulting in the network extending internationally and spanning Government and the cultural sector. There is a great deal of movement between institutional structures. This fits with what Wright Mills (1956) termed 'interchangeability' in the seminal text *The Power Elite*. This theory concerns the movement between similar senior positions across military, economic and political elites.

Schlesinger and Tumber report that a number of key pressure groups that were funded by Government, had easy access to Government departments and consulted with Government press officers before issuing media statements. Those who exert considerable influence over policy and moreover, have a fundamental role in its making, remain unacknowledged. Schlesinger and Tumber state that their study:

underlines the special importance of the links between non-official political actors and certain sectors of the media. Within the rather limited circles identified by this study as constituting the policy network in the crime and criminal justice field, many do indeed believe that rational political action and debate are important, but for them the rational public that counts, and the media that serve it, are actually limited to the circles of the powerful and influential (1994:272)

This quote emphasises the 'restricted set of relations' (1994:272) involved in the formulation of policy and its heavily controlled communication, firmly going against our idea of a democratic political system.

Another example from public policy that corresponds to the findings from this study is Ball's research on the governance of education policy in the UK. Ball argues that policy is directed and managed by complex, interrelated social interactions between key individuals and organisations outside of Government. He proposes that:

a new form of experimental and strategic governance is being fostered, based upon network relations within new policy communities. These new policy communities bring new kinds of actors into the policy process, validate new policy discourses and enable new forms of policy influence and enactment, and in some respects disable or disenfranchise or circumvent some of the established policy actors and agencies (2008:748).

Ball emphasises that this is not about the state losing its capacity to steer policy, but more that these changes signal a new form of state. This 'informal authority' (2008:747) changes the boundary between state and society, with political ends being simply met by 'different means' (2008:748). He analyses a number of these new communities, tracing the informal relationships within the network and using chaotic visual maps to illustrate the intricate and interwoven connections between individuals and organisations. As in the previous example and this research, within Ball's study there is also substantial movement across and within the network as well as the presence of a 'power elite' (2008:749). Ball's research draws on the work of prolific political scientists Bevir and Rhodes (2003), who argue that networks of policy actors outside the state have a fundamental role in the shaping and governance of policy.

Like the work of Schlesinger and Tumber, and Ball, this study has identified the presence of an elite, raising questions as to whether the policy-making process is at all appropriate for a political democracy. Whilst it could be viewed as a largely closed, elitist and exclusive practice, it could also be understood as an efficient and effective way to make policy, through the inclusion of both those outside of Government and those involved in the delivery of cultural activity. Furthermore, the notion of the elite could not only be applied to those influential and powerful individuals already discussed but the six organisations involved in the WCP. Almost the entire cultural sector outside of these institutions, are both ineligible for these funds and are not informed of the Government's international policy, as the interviews and document analysis demonstrated.

The six national organisations may argue that other cultural institutions outside of the capital are involved in some elements of the WCP but any perusal of the past activities for the programme shows that this involvement is minimal. However, whilst expected to 'be international', there is no policy directive driving activity, informing these organisations of what is expected, or explaining how Government is supporting them and, in turn, how they are contributing to wider political objectives. This may signal a move towards an alternative model of policy-making. It could also reveal a further division, not only between the institutions within London and those in the regions, but a fragmentation between the organisations within the capital and those six involved in the WCP.

In an article in *The Guardian*, Jenkins commented on the recent funding cuts to the arts and proposed the notion of an elite, comprising senior figures such as Serota and MacGregor. He argued that this 'gilded elite' (2010:37) had influenced Government to such an extent that they had diverted the cuts away from their own organisations and onto ACE and the regions. According to Jenkins, this was sealed at a strategic dinner, where members of the elite emphasised the worth of their organisations to the Culture Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, which resulted in the big museums being left with 'mere flesh wounds, shortly to be repaired by the lottery' (2010:37). Jenkins provocatively states: 'There is nothing a really good dinner cannot achieve' (2010:37). His arguments are perfectly in line with those presented in this study and a copy of this article can be found in Appendix Four.

Similar sentiments were expressed at the annual *Cultural Trends* conference in December 2010, where a prominent researcher declared: 'if you're Nicholas Hytner [director of the National Theatre], Nick Serota or Neil MacGregor, the Government is scared of you'. Whilst the notion of the cultural elite is underrepresented in the cultural policy literature, it has occasionally been recognised. Gray's early work acknowledges that cultural policy is 'largely an elite preoccupation' (1996:219), operating through 'structures that reinforce the power that it holds through its position at the centre of the system' (1996:219-220). During the 1990s, John Major introduced the Public Appointments Commission, a body dedicated to ensuring a proper recruitment and selection process for public appointments. Tony Blair also

made a commitment to this, thus acknowledging the previous issues in terms of those appointed. In a later paper on the membership of the Arts Council, Gray argues that the appointment procedure is a 'socially closed world' (2000b:11) as new members are selected on the basis of discussions taking place 'behind closed doors' (2000b:10). Whilst the recruitment process of these appointments changed, Gray's arguments remain strong in terms of the actual individuals selected. He makes further connections between his findings and the work of Hutchison concerning the identification of a 'self-replicating oligarchy' (2000b:11) within the arts.

Hutchison's examination of the Arts Council illustrates the densely connected network. He meticulously plots the relationships between key personnel, spanning the professional and private spheres, which include family members and spouses. Hutchison describes the Arts Council as 'cosy and incestuous' (1982:157) and its relationship with the Royal Opera House, to which a whole chapter is devoted, as 'that of Siamese twins' (1982:27).

Upchurch's doctoral thesis (2008) on the intellectual history of cultural policy was wholly based on the notion of an elite. She looked at studies of group dynamics to examine how the individuals with the most power tend to lead the larger organisations that are represented within the elite and how they have links across a number of collegial groups. Upchurch drew upon Porter's study (1992) of the role of elites within policy-making, noting the secrecy which is important within these exclusive circles and describing the way in which those involved 'move through a long series of complicated discussions and negotiations, only fragments of which become public' (cited in Upchurch, 2008:97).

Continuing to look across public policy, similar findings can be observed in the development of AIDS policy in the UK. Berridge's analysis looks at how groups of gay men, eventually through the Terrence Higgins Trust and outside of the traditional policy-making system, were drawn into positions of policy influence. New alliances were forged informally between the gay community, clinicians and scientists, in response to the disease. These groups were voluntarily responsible for forming networks to share scientific knowledge, disseminate information about sexual health,

attend meetings, speak at conferences and develop health-education expertise. Berridge describes how the disease was brought to the attention of politicians by these informal, outside groups and how subsequently, this network was so strong, that the Department of Health 'began to draw gay representatives into informal alliance' (1996:21). Berridge states that at a time when policy was formulated by 'elite circles' (1996:2), gay men became a vital part of the policy community and it was the influential relationships between those within Government and those outside, that led to the creation of an effective policy for AIDS.

Looking beyond the UK, there are other examples of policy-making which display comparable characteristics with this study. A further case is the making of science policy in the United States. Smith's detailed account provides an in-depth analysis of the interplay between politicians and scientists, and how the latter, with their expert knowledge, act as 'outside advisers' (1992:7), occupying an important role within policy-making. Smith's research covers a 50 year period, starting after World War II and is based on extensive interviews with science advisers. He looks at a number of policy examples, from the use of herbicides and military weapons to atomic energy and aeronautics. He crucially discovered a 'clublike [sic] amiability' (1992:192), which the policy-making process depends on. Significantly, he notes that a more democratic approach of 'broad membership and frequent rotation of members may work against a close working relationship' (1992:192). He highlights the importance of friendships for 'relative harmony of outlook and shared values between advisers and decision makers' (1992:190). Furthermore, Smith found that these informal relationships were so strong and the scientists so influential, that they participated in general policy decisions, not just in science policy decisions. He refers to Wood's concept (1964) of scientists as an 'apolitical elite' (cited in Smith, 1992:200). Smith also comments on the 'mistaken assumption that policy conclusions follow inexorably from the scientific facts' (1992:202) and that 'there remains the pretense that science advice is merely a matter of providing the facts' (1992:203). The parallels between Smith's case and this example are clear. Both cases exemplify fundamental elite characteristics, as defined by Putnam (1976), who notes the exclusive and autonomous nature of elite groups, the familiarity between members, their shared values, similar demographic profiles and ability to influence decision making.

A further example from public policy with recognisable similarities is Nyland's research in the 1990s on housing policy reform in Australia. This research also identifies networks which influence, direct and formulate policy. Nyland focuses on non-profit, community sector organisations and interest groups that emerged during the intense period of social reform in Australia in the 1970s and 80s. Though not within the cultural policy field and like the previous example, not a case of UK policy, there are striking parallels between the concepts presented in her work and those in this thesis. The first point of commonality is the informal network. She writes:

Extremely close working relationships existed among these people, a number of them with preexisting political or interest group affinities, social relationships, or work-related acquaintances. During development of these programs and policy changes, some moved from the nonprofit sector or the minister's staff into positions in an increasingly politicized housing authority. The network spanned the institutional borders of government agencies and nonprofit organizations alike (1995:199)

This Australian case and the previous example from the United States show that there is some level of transnational uniformity concerning the role of networks within the policy-making process. In a later article on the same subject, Nyland acknowledges that within these 'strategic alliances' (1998:217) were 'private friendships and love affairs' (1998:216), 'mostly all knew each other ... and had a sense of personal connectedness' (1998:227). Her research documents the movement of a number of these people, from positions outside the policy process, through increasing engagement and into positions that effectively control the policy agenda.

There are many additional points of correlation between Nyland's research and this case. She focuses the 'hidden' element within policy formulation, that is, the informal interactions between these interest groups and the state. She explains that these aspects are 'not easily visible' (1998:230) because they occur informally, 'in private arenas' (1998:230):

These are aspects of the policy reform process that are not documented, or captured in formal structures or negotiations. Because they belong to the aspirations of individuals and their discussions with one another, they do not appear in the public realm (1998:230)

This quote shows that the aspirations of individuals are paramount, thus corresponding with this study, which showed the shaping of policy through the personal and professional agendas of key personnel. This research has shown how conversations happen in private arenas, again reflecting the ideas presented in Nyland's research. She describes this activity as taking place 'in stealth ... 'on the quiet' (1998:232), highlighting an assumption that leads to a lack of understanding in how policy is made. She states:

they assume that outside parties' activities within the formal policymaking process are the only ones that are significant; thus, they tend to overlook informal activity. They also tend to assume that the interests of the state and other parties are divergent rather than convergent, and thus that their relationship is one of reconciling and negotiating differences (1995:197, emphasis in original)

This quote acknowledges both the informal aspects of the policy-making process and the positive relationship between the parties involved. The relationship between the Government and other agencies is not conflictual but 'close and harmonious cooperation' (1995:200):

What is particularly important...is not just cooperation, but shared interest. The players had more in common with one another in terms of policy objectives and vested interests in outcomes (1995:200)

Nyland's ideas around informal policy networks draw upon Heclo's definition (1978) of 'issue networks', which acknowledges the informal influencers within policy-making and the cooperation between them and Government. Heclo emphasises the activities of actors, rather than organisations, and the 'development of mutually acceptable policy positions based on shared expertise and interest in policy outcomes' (Nyland, 1995:198).

Nyland's research shows that non-profit groups are crucial to the process of formulating housing policy, in the same way as the cultural elite are vital to making cultural policy in this case. Nyland goes further to explain what is taking place:

This goes beyond cooperation – it becomes a form of "coproduction". Coproduction refers to a particular relationship between state and parties outside the state ... in the creation and delivery of local government services ... This can be extended and applied to policy production. I have termed this "policy coproduction" (1995:201)

‘Coproduction’ suggests that the interest groups had an equal role in policy-making. However, this thesis proposes that the role of the cultural practitioners in this example goes beyond that of ‘coproduction’. Whilst the two cases have many similarities, this study argues that the role of practitioners extends further as they directly initiate policy, they advocate and lobby for it through the commissioning of research, they formulate and lever funding which they then administer and allocate in the implementation of the policy that they have produced. Thus, the conventional distinctions between policy-maker, implementer and recipient are blurred. This renders the sampling strategy employed in this study as somewhat redundant.

There is a further point of departure with Nyland, who notes that ‘coproduction is not likely to be a long-term relationship’ (1995:202). This case suggests otherwise as the network has been shown to have longevity with key individuals having established relationships which span decades. Whether these ideas can be extended to other cultural policies and across art forms is unclear at this stage. This may well be an exceptional instance. However, these are key questions which merit further investigation. The following quote by Nyland summarises her key points and could be read as an interpretation of the data presented in this thesis. Offering an almost identical set of findings, she states:

The accord reached by government and nonprofit interests was the result of interaction between policy activists involved in the network. These interactions, coupled with the movement of significant individuals around the institutions, carried information, ideas, and values throughout the network. This informal process, which takes place through discussion of ideas at all levels, establishes common perceptions of the problems, shared understanding of the issues and agreed positions on policy direction. This informal development of policy positions is a vital, if somewhat missing, link in the policymaking process (1995:201)

Conclusions

This chapter has drawn upon a number of examples from the discipline of political science that show similarities with the findings in this thesis. This included a case from

the UK which explored the influence of pressure groups and journalists on the shaping of penal policy; another example showed how networks outside of the state govern UK education policy; a further case from the UK looked at the influence of outside groups on the formulation of AIDS policy; another example was taken from science policy in the United States, which showed the influence of expert advisers in the policy-making process and finally, a case from housing reform policy in Australia was presented which examined the web of informal relationships which directly and actively create policy. This plethora of examples showed how the specificities of this case have been extensively recognised, explored and debated within public policy forums. The examples displayed diversity; they looked across a variety of policy areas and beyond the UK. However, they also showed striking parallels with this thesis, thus demonstrating that the findings from the empirical data are not distinct or unique, but are common features within social policy. As an aside, this, in turn, assists in validating the data presented in Chapter Five.

The purpose of this comparative exercise has been threefold. Firstly, it has illuminated the cultural policy-making process. It has shown that the notion of an elite and its influence is widespread within public policy. It has also revealed the informal and hidden processes within the making of policy. It has confirmed the presence of networks and the established, often personal, nature of these relationships. Secondly, it has demonstrated the utility of looking outside of cultural policy in order to aid our understanding of the intricacies of the field. Finally, these examples from political science contextualise the empirical work in this thesis, providing some background for the overarching conclusions and their implications, which are presented in the next chapter.

All of these points are particularly pertinent since there is a gap in the literature within cultural policy studies concerning the policy-making process. Furthermore, political science not only addresses this omission, but it shows that the process is understood in far greater depth than in the field of cultural policy. This is perhaps to be expected, since cultural policy studies is a burgeoning field, especially in comparison to the established discipline of political science. Nevertheless, it makes clear the need to conduct more research into this specific aspect in order to understand cultural policy

both generally and on a more detailed level. The examples presented in this chapter thus provide direction for future research in cultural policy and offer a wealth of possible avenues for interdisciplinary working.

Furthermore, despite this clear link with studies in political science, in general, there is little connection made between cultural policy and public policy. A number of recent studies within cultural policy have begun to address this. Current research by Belfiore (2010a), Gray and Wingfield (2010), and O'Brien (2010) signals a move to relate cultural policy to other public policy areas. This shift offers clear benefits in terms of enhancing the understanding of the subject area.

This discussion is continued in Chapter Seven, where it is extended and contextualised within a broader debate on the current status of cultural policy and its associated study. The final chapter draws together the findings from the multiple data sets – the literature review, the document analysis, the interview data and the policy sector comparisons to provide overarching conclusions and possible implications for the field more generally.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions

Introduction

This thesis set out to investigate the emergence of internationalism as an instrumental cultural policy, with cultural diplomacy defining a role for the arts within international relations.

Chapter Two scrutinised the published work on instrumentalism and cultural diplomacy. It discussed the self-referential and introspective nature of the literature on instrumentalism which was limited to the conceptual and methodological difficulties inherent in measurement, establishing causation and capturing impact. Instrumentalism is viewed negatively by both the academic literature and the professional press due to the perceived detrimental consequences. The literature assumes that Government's implementation of instrumental policies conflicts with the cultural sector. The debate is based on moral and philosophical values rather than empirical evidence. The published work on cultural diplomacy is scant and mainly focuses on historic and political aspects. The small number of recent articles assume that cultural diplomacy is a new instrumental policy and argue that it should be resisted based on the existing criticism of such policies and the alleged effects on the arts.

Through an examination of the literature, a number of problems were identified for investigation in this study. These included how instrumentalism was viewed by the cultural sector, the legitimacy of internationalism as a new instrumental policy and its impact on the sector, the role of rhetoric and advocacy in policy-making, how far theory reflects practice and the lack of empirical work within cultural policy research. This chapter revisits these issues in light of the findings from the two empirical data sets. It provides overarching conclusions and reflections, offers some explanations and discusses the implications for the field.

Through presenting, justifying and describing the methodological framework in Chapter Three, an empirical vacuum within cultural policy studies was identified. In

response to this, a method more familiar with the social sciences was selected as the analytical tool for this research.

Chapter Four revealed the findings from the document analysis. Thematic analysis was applied to three texts. It was initially assumed that the audience for the documents was the sector as they were outward facing and had titles such as *International Strategy*, suggesting an operational action plan. The analysis found the documents to be directed towards those at senior levels within the hierarchical structure, rather than the cultural sector. They explicitly aspired to work more closely with Government departments. The DCMS and ACE's documents centred on the contribution that they made to broader political objectives through cultural activity, whilst the British Museum's strategy expressed a desire for closer links with Government for its own organisational expansion. It was concluded that the documents were strategic tools which demonstrated political allegiance and hierarchical compliance to essentially justify subsidy and rationalise the existence of those that authored them. Whilst the DCMS and ACE's documents were more about survival, the British Museum's text focused on growth. The analysis concluded that they were all tools for self-defence and protection.

Chapter Five presented the findings from the interview data. The analysis corroborated earlier findings from the document analysis and offered answers to many of the questions that were raised through earlier empirical work but were left unanswered. However, the document analysis was not the starting point for the interview analysis and did not inform it. Rather, the two data sets seamlessly and effortlessly interlocked.

The interviews found that in many circumstances, these documents were used strategically for other purposes such as for internal management. Therefore, it was the process of their making, rather than the final document, that was important. Policy documents would be more accurately interpreted if they were viewed in this strategic sense. These findings were entirely compatible with the conclusions from the document analysis.

The interview data showed that the terms and concepts offered by the academic literature were not used in practice. As well as interviewees largely being unaware of key terms, they also lacked awareness of the documents, corroborating the idea of their audience being internal. Chapter Five concluded that the terminology was derived from academic attempts to understand and conceptualise what is happening in practice. This was further complicated by the use of sophisticated rhetorical strategies by the practitioners in the formulation, implementation and communication of policy, which were then largely ignored in favour of pursuing organisational and personal goals.

The document analysis concluded by asking fundamental questions about the nature, purpose and role of cultural policy. The interviews revealed that policy, in this case, is made through self-governing, autonomous networks, and through strategic alliances within a cultural elite. This elite is essentially an aggregate of powerful individuals (Putnam, 1976) that hold key positions within national cultural institutions and select Government departments. There is direct, personal and informal engagement between the members of the elite, which, in turn, define the parameters and the principles of international policy. This elite holds considerable power. Again, the use of policy as a stratagem to serve the professional needs and personal wishes of the elite came through strongly.

The notion of policy as strategy was demonstrated through the strategic inversion of instrumentalism by the cultural elite. The accepted definition of instrumental cultural policies by Vestheim (1994) was shown to be inadequate to capture, describe or interpret the empirical data. In addition, the published literature on the subject was also shown to be deficient in failing to reflect the nuances of this process. At many points throughout the study, a substantial gap emerged between academic theory and policy practice.

Chapter Six reflected on the findings from the empirical work and considered them alongside policy-making more generally. Diverse examples from political science were presented that showed characteristics similar to those described in this thesis in terms of how policy is made. This chapter was by no means exhaustive, but nevertheless was

adequate to demonstrate the utility of moving beyond the field in order to facilitate understanding within cultural policy studies.

This chapter pulls together the conclusions from the three data sets and considers these in relation to the material presented in Chapter Six, extending the discussion from the previous section. To conclude, I focus on three key areas - instrumentalism, the policy-making process and cultural policy more generally. This discussion is contextualised within a broader debate concerning the implications for the field.

Towards a Reconceptualisation of Instrumentalism

The empirical data has presented a compelling case for a new interpretation of instrumentalism through demonstrating that our current understanding is not only imprecise but incorrect.

The published literature viewed cultural policies simplistically, deeming them either 'non-instrumental' or 'instrumental' and thus 'good' or 'bad' for the arts. The document analysis demonstrated that the three bodies authoring the documents sought to show compliance with the objectives of Government departments. The documents expressed a commitment to support the DCMS and the FCO in fulfilling broader political objectives. The interview data corroborated the findings from the document analysis, through illustrating that the cultural sector was not, in principle, opposed to instrumental policies.

More crucially, the interview data demonstrated how the cultural sector took direct action to create a new policy justified in instrumental terms. The cultural organisations and more specifically, the elite, opportunistically and proactively led the way in generating the WCP as a new policy. The individuals involved initiated its formulation, development and subsequent implementation by exploiting the conceptual basis of instrumental policies for their own personal and professional goals. Most importantly, the cultural organisations persuaded the Government to see their international activity as instrumental. In this sense and in light of the sequence of events that led to the WCP, what is striking here is that instrumentalism, as we understand it, has been inverted. The data illustrates that instrumentalism was cleverly manipulated by the

cultural organisations, who used its distinct characteristics to invert it and therefore lever funding and practical support, which, in turn, enabled them to continue doing the work that they already do.

The formulation of the WCP and its associated discussion exposed a gap between the academic conceptualisation of instrumental policies in principle and their operation in practice; strongly demonstrating the need to revise the current understanding of instrumental policies. These policies have traditionally been perceived to be negative, rigid, top-down and imposed by the Government. The WCP shows the opposite, that an instrumental policy was initiated, formulated and implemented by the cultural sector itself; that it was beneficial for the cultural organisations as it offered a number of advantages; that it was open, non-directive and flexible; and furthermore, that it actually enabled the institutions to increase the scale and scope of their existing work. The result was that cultural activity was strengthened and enhanced, rather than being damaged, prescribed or directed, as anti-instrumental arguments assume. Figure 8 below shows these contrasting features:

Understanding	Published literature	This case
Nature of instrumental policies	Rigid, prescriptive and overly directional	Non-directional and non-prescriptive apart from geographical focus
View of instrumental policies by cultural sector	Imposed on the cultural sector by the Government and to be resisted	Embraced, encouraged, advocated and positively engineered by the sector
Result of instrumental policies	Negative consequences on cultural sector	Benefits and opportunities offered to cultural sector
Relationship between Government and sector	Oppositional, 'them and us'	Harmonious, symbiotic and positive

Figure 8 – The Contrasting Features of Instrumental Policies

There has been little research into the acceptability, indeed welcoming, of instrumentalism within the cultural sector. Moreover, Vestheim’s widely accepted

definition (1994) is inadequate to reflect or capture the processes identified here. The scholar posits instrumental policies as the tendency 'to use cultural ventures and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other areas' (1994:65). It is the only definition within the cultural policy field and is widely used by fellow academics. Whilst the definition is not inaccurate, it falls short through its inability to recognise the complexity and nuance provided by this case. This thesis demonstrates that there are dimensions of, or variations in the forms of instrumentalism.

In addition, what is most interesting here is what is occurring within the *process* of policy-making itself. Instrumentalism is a conceptualisation of a *process*, rather than a thing in itself, as the word suggests. It is therefore more accurate to describe it in terms of an 'instrumental cultural policy', rather than the shorthand 'instrumentalism', which is widely used across the literature and adds to its misinterpretation. At present, there is a conceptualisation of instrumental cultural policy-making which, whilst widely accepted, is insufficiently defined. Instrumentality needs to be reconceptualised to accommodate these nuances.

A shift towards a more literal definition of 'instrumental' could offer a resolution. For example, the Oxford English Dictionary defines the concept as: 'Serving as an instrument or means; contributing to the accomplishment of a purpose or result' (Oxford English Dictionary). If viewed more literally, 'instrumental' could simply be seen as 'a means to something else' or 'helpful in bringing something about'. A more general definition would encapsulate the various nuances and complexity within the concept, and furthermore, would remove the suggestions inherent within Vestheim's definition about cause and effect. That is, it is difficult not to allow our own interpretations, based on the wider literature, to interfere with Vestheim's definition. Gray provides a useful case in point, he states:

In Vestheim's vision there is a diversion of primary intention away from the core specifics of a policy sector towards the interests and concerns of other policy sectors altogether (2008:211)

Gray's interpretation of Vestheim's definition suggests that such 'other areas' come from outside of culture, implicitly political agendas. Vestheim's definition also implies

that the power flows in one direction, with cultural ventures and investments being 'used' to fulfil 'other areas'. In addition, the word 'used' has a negative connotation. Without being overt, Vestheim's definition suggests a top-down and imposed structure. However, this study demonstrates that these 'other' interests and concerns can equally be those of the cultural organisations themselves in terms of their own growth and status, and more pointedly, the personal motivations of those within the institutions; precisely *not* those of other policy sectors.

If instrumental policies are to be fully understood, a process of reconceptualisation is required that involves returning to the fundamentals, re-examining assumptions and considering the role of rhetoric. An improved understanding would lead to a fresh consideration of how cultural policy is made, with the distinct features of the process properly acknowledged and understood. This would revamp understanding and bring it in line with practice.

Strategy and Rhetoric

This study has shown the significance of rhetoric. By employing a sophisticated rhetoric, cultural organisations can use instrumental policies to achieve their own organisational goals, whilst not addressing the wider political issues. The way that the case is presented is vital, as the funders that authorise public spending on the arts will only respond if the arguments are cast in terms of the issues corresponding with political agendas. This importance of rhetoric is now explored further.

It is logical to assume that to understand policy, we need to look at policy documents. However, the empirical analyses demonstrated that international cultural policy is not formulated, constructed or implemented through written documents. Instead, this research has shown that policy is made through social interactions between the cultural elite. Whilst documents can be taken to represent policy, or indeed are positioned so as to appear to represent policy, in reality, there may be little connection.

The interview data illustrated that very few participants were aware of the international strategies. Of the minority who knew of their existence, none seemed

comfortable or confident in discussing them. The document analysis concluded that despite being outward facing, the strategies actually looked to those higher up the hierarchical chain. The cultural sector was not the intended audience for the DCMS's *International Strategy*; the document is actually inward facing. Whilst ACE's text addresses the cultural sector, it is also aimed at the DCMS and Government more generally. They are strategic tools, as opposed to the operational action plans that they first appear or are assumed to be.

Documents of this type can be viewed as alternative platforms for their authors to communicate key messages, in an attempt to assert their strengths and to ensure their continued existence. In this sense, it would be more appropriate to view these documents as 'stratagems'. This would take the concept of 'policy' back to its original, now obsolete, definition, where it was understood as a 'device, expedient, contrivance ... stratagem, trick' (Hill, 2009:18). Shakespeare wrote 'for policy sits above conscience' in *The Life of Timon of Athens*, at a time when policy was seen as the art of political illusion and duplicity (Hill, 2009). Whilst this may initially appear too strong, this study recommends that elements of this proposition are taken forward as a more suitable and relevant way to view policy to fully understand the use of the written documents in this case.

It is pertinent here to reintroduce the work of Belfiore, whose current research explores the utilisation of an argumentation model in cultural policy, which sees policy-making as 'an essentially rhetorical process' (2010a:1). This model, borrowed from healthcare academics Greenhalgh and Russell, is a move away from policy-making formulated 'on the notion of decision making as a rational exercise based on the supposedly objective consideration of evidence' (2010a:1). Greenhalgh and Russell (2006) propose that policy-making should be reconceptualised as a 'social drama', which is centred on argumentation as 'a real, enacted story in which all concerned, whether they want to or not, become actors' (cited in Belfiore, 2010a:8). Evidence is 'rhetorically constructed on the social stage' (cited in Belfiore, 2010a:8). Belfiore elaborates, stating that the production, selection and employment of evidence in public debates should be considered as 'moves in a rhetorical argumentation game and not as the harvesting of objective facts to be fed into a logical decision-making sequence'

(cited in Belfiore, 2010a:8). Rhetoric becomes a tool to shape, formulate, implement and communicate policy.

In a later paper, Russell *et al* expand on some of these ideas, emphasising the importance of acknowledging the role of 'language, arguments and discourse' (2008:40) within the construction and implementation of policy. A number of other parallels can be drawn with this research and the work of the healthcare academics. The writers note the 'interaction of individual and collective values' (2008:40), the centrality of the audience and how 'policy-making in practice depends crucially on what is said, by whom, and on whether others find their arguments persuasive' (2008:41).

Belfiore, and Greenhalgh and Russell's perspective, see policy statements as persuasive tools, used by their authors to achieve particular objectives. Going beyond the mere adoption of rhetoric, this view offers an alternative stance on the notion of policy as a tool of persuasion, encompassing a combination of rhetorical power and tactical rationalisations under the guise of policy itself.

Rhetoric is essential to satisfy both the Government and the policy funders. Indirectly, it provides an acceptable rationale for the wider general public that contributes financially through taxation, should it be required. In this case, the rhetoric was shown to be essential in leveraging the WCP funding and rationalising the subsequent activity, labelled 'cultural diplomacy'. This expression was readily used by the cultural sector to represent any kind of international work. Nevertheless, many interviewees did not recognise formal definitions of the basic terms surrounding internationalism, most notably cultural diplomacy and cultural relations. Undoubtedly, using the rhetoric of cultural diplomacy made for a persuasive argument and was key to the Treasury's £3m allocation. However, the most interesting point is that instrumental rhetoric is not widely used or even taken seriously, even by those who seemingly adhere to it. On securing the funding, it becomes more important that the organisational goals are fulfilled. The rhetoric is rehearsed and repeated but is by no means binding. This idea was offered in Chapter Five, where the interview analysis showed that despite some interviewees advocating instrumentalist approaches and formulating them as policy,

they are frequently manipulated or ignored at every level.

It is for this reason that the policy documents become even more crucial, as they are used to justify the actions of the organisations and rationalise their existence. They are primarily exercises in rhetoric, which is why the only parties who know about them are those whom the documents have been written for or those involved in their production. None of the artists knew about them. The majority of those within the cultural sector do not need to use the rhetoric as they are not party to the conversations. For the rhetoric to achieve the desired outcome, there must be an exchange, that is, an appropriate audience.

The power and utilisation of rhetoric can be frequently observed within this field. For example, the cultural sector's recent response to the proposed funding cuts, part of the coalition Government's austerity measures, was based on a rhetorical strategy. A consortium of over 2,000 arts organisations and artists launched a campaign to *Save the Arts*, which involved a petition publicised through a series of new artworks created by Turner Prize winners. In their approach, the artists employed rhetorical strategies which tapped into the Government's economic and social agendas. David Shrigley's animation deliberately features a Northern art-loving farmer, which subtly makes the case that the arts are available, accessible and enjoyed by all. Shrigley intersperses his short cartoon with a number of written statements such as 'the arts are a major employer' and 'the growth of the arts has helped renew derelict city areas throughout Britain'. He thereby locates the arts within social and economic spheres, recognising that 'fire fighters, hospitals and schools are vital, but so are the arts' (Save the Arts, 2010:online). Similarly, Mark Titchner's contribution is redolent of red, black and white propaganda posters, featuring the words 'Don't Let Them Destroy Another British Industry', in his typical bold typographic style, alluding to the ruination of the mining industry under Thatcher (Save the Arts, 2010:online). Likewise, artists Jeremy Deller and Scott King take a social stance, quoting the words of the famous Victorian textile designer and socialist William Morris, 'I do not want art for a few any more than I want education for a few, or freedom for a few', equating the arts not only with necessity, but with basic human rights (Save the Arts, 2010:online).

It is likely that the same artists and organisations involved in the *Save the Arts* campaign have opposed instrumental policies at some point in the past. However, the overarching point here is that the rhetoric is powerful and assumes a central role in arguing for the arts. Nicholas Serota, director of Tate, member of the cultural elite and recipient of the VVCP funding, also demonstrates his ability to utilise rhetoric as a key strategy. His recent article entitled *A blitzkrieg on the arts*, argues that the cuts form the biggest threat to the British cultural landscape for 70 years and are likely to cause a 'slow, painful death' to the 'most innovative' organisations (2010:27). He recounts the scene in Salford prior to its cultural regeneration, where 'old people' were 'terrified to leave their homes because of the threat of attacks by roving gangs' (2010:27). O'Brien describes the discourse surrounding the funding cuts as 'apocalyptic' (2011:online). Serota's confrontational approach, use of forceful narrative examples and inflammatory words such as 'blitzkrieg', similarly fits this pattern. These cases use rhetorical strategies and employ the 'two-way argument' observed in Chapter Two.

Throughout this thesis, the use of cultural policy as tools, strategies, weapons and shields, essentially as a means of protection and survival, has been argued. The ambiguous nature of cultural policy and the lack of clarity in its conceptualisation, formulation, implementation and evaluation has also been commented on. Going further, it is now proposed that we need to not only look more extensively at the role of rhetoric within cultural policy-making but *rethink* cultural policy more generally, recognising its utility and role as both a strategic tool *and* a process. This viewpoint is shared by Wildavsky (1979), who espoused ideas about policy being a process as well as a product.

Policy Networks

A number of studies that focused on the making of policy were presented in the previous chapter. They showed a broader recognition of key individuals and groups outside of government; their informal relationships and their influential role within the formulation of policy. All of these examples came to similar conclusions and as such, illuminate this study of cultural policy. In public policy, these various accounts show typical characteristics of a 'policy network', described by Rhodes as:

sets of formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests ... These actors are interdependent and policy emerges from the interactions between them (2006:426)

This broader understanding of the policy-making process from public policy is largely omitted in cultural policy research. More work is required within the field, not only to bring understanding up-to-date with current practice, but to comparable levels with other disciplines.

Furthermore, a key conclusion in this research is not only that practitioners are key to the formulation of policy but that the process of its making is 'bottom-up'. This challenges the assumption that policy is largely determined by Government in a 'top-down' approach. Those perceived to be at the 'bottom' have, in practice, greater power than some within Government. For example, as mentioned previously, the British Museum has been in existence far longer than the DCMS, has a clear rationale for its work, is held in high esteem by the wider public and is led by someone who liaises directly with the Prime Minister. In this sense, this research demonstrates that those conventionally thought to be on the periphery of decision making are actually at the centre. The process has been shown to be subversive, with those within the network and the elite covertly resisting top-down management, as exemplified in the documents, through the establishment of the WCP and the use of rhetoric. Whilst the documents appear to seek to mirror and reflect foreign policy, they actually bear little relationship to the 'real' policy, which is essentially the WCP. The only point of correlation is the priority geographical areas, that is, the countries where the WCP activity occurs are those specified as international priorities by the FCO. Other than that, there is no connection and furthermore, no stipulation as to what cultural diplomacy is or *should* be. The interests of the key powerful individuals are readily absorbed into this. For example, the Middle East is both a region where reconciliation is imperative yet, at the same time, it is the source of a considerable part of the British Museum's collection, which thus has substantial commercial potential. Here, the documents do not outline the basis of policy but instead are used strategically to protect and preserve the cultural elite and the institutions and departments to which they are affiliated.

This study has offered an insight into the formulation of policy, providing information on a largely hidden process. Due to the informal nature of the relationships, the exclusive circles within which they operate and the lack of empirical work within the field, it is difficult to capture and document this process, hence both the lack of representation in the literature and the inaccuracies reported by the published work. These discrepancies between theory and practice will now be discussed, along with their possible implications.

The Relationship between Theory and Practice: From Cultural Studies to Public Policy

At various points throughout this research, academic discussion has been shown to be divorced from practice, a fragmentation between scholarly attempts to make sense of what is happening, and the activities and interpretations of practitioners. This divergence between theory and practice is not the only issue. The literature review drew attention to the absence of an empirical foundation for the published work on instrumentalism and cultural diplomacy. The minority of sources which purported to be empirical lacked methodological detail. Chapter Three highlighted the absence of a methodological framework for cultural policy analysis, possibly resulting from a broader culture of eschewing empirical work within cultural policy studies. A stronger and more demonstrable empirical base would naturally lead to a closer connection between theory and practice.

A further anomaly is the lack of scholarly interest in public policy literature. A fairly new and emerging field, cultural policy is rooted in cultural studies (Lewis and Miller, 2003) rather than public policy. Despite the field being inherently understood as interdisciplinary, cultural policy research is largely informed by cultural theory and tends not to draw on other disciplines. As such, there is little attention paid to public policy. This is surprising as the literature is vast and offers an extensive corpus of highly relevant work, yet is virtually untapped by cultural policy researchers. The contents and focus of *International Journal of Cultural Policy* and the *International Conference on Cultural Policy Research*, the major academic journal and conference in the field, confirm that scholars in this area generally have little interest in public policy. Conversely, Quinn acknowledges that in political science, cultural policy has received

‘insufficient attention’ (1998:xv) and despite her effort to consider how cultural policy can contribute more generally to the study of public policy, her attempt is not fully realised.

This thesis goes further by proposing that to truly understand cultural policy, we need to look to other public policy sectors. This was exemplified in the previous chapter, where parallels were drawn with areas outside of cultural policy. It is of significance that one of the few cultural policy scholars to make such connections, Clive Gray, is a political scientist by training. His most recent paper *Are Governmental Culture Departments Important?: An Empirical Investigation*, compares culture with other policy areas, helping to remedy the dearth of empirical papers addressing this issue. Another scholar within this minority is Dave O’Brien, whose research focuses on public policy and administration, through the lens of cultural policy. O’Brien’s current work (2010) explores the utility of environmental and health economics in expressing cultural value.

It is unclear why cultural policy researchers do not base their work on empirical studies, nor utilise the substantial body of work from public policy. Perhaps this is symptomatic of a relatively young field seeking to establish itself as an independent discipline. It is dominated by relatively few figures, who largely look towards cultural studies, resulting in a somewhat introverted body of work. This stance is problematic, as exemplified through this study, where numerous disparities between theory and practice are evidenced. This research posits that this fragmentation may be caused by a lack of empirical engagement. As a developing discipline, an alternative approach is opportune and an expansion into public policy seems a logical progression.

Despite most cultural policy research remaining true to its roots within the discipline of cultural studies, this interest is not reciprocated, as Bennett discussed almost two decades ago when he spoke of *Putting Policy into Cultural Studies* (1992:23). Bennett identified ‘the need to include policy considerations in the definition of culture in viewing it as a particular field of government’ (1992:23) and advocated putting policy into cultural studies ‘theoretically, practically, and institutionally’ (1992:24). This has been followed by writers such as McRobbie who declared that cultural policy was ‘the

missing agenda' of cultural studies (1996:335), but acknowledged that it has been 'almost abandoned' by cultural studies (1996:336). She states:

The point is that this is a missing dimension in cultural debate and until we know more about it we cannot speak with much authority (1996:336)

Furthermore, McRobbie could also provide clues for this lack of empirical work in cultural policy research more generally, as she argued that cultural studies itself 'resists' empirical engagement. She describes policy as:

shunned by cultural studies' scholars for whom the politics of meaning have recently taken precedence over the need to intervene in political debates armed with data, facts and figures and empirical results (1997:170)

McRobbie bemoans 'theoretical dominance' (1997:175), calling for a return to 'the empirical, the ethnographic, the experiential' (1997:170).

Reciprocally, public policy pays scant attention to cultural policy, regarding it as peripheral. Belfiore and Bennett acknowledge that the arts 'occupy a particularly fragile position in public policy' (2008:5). Gray (2009) points out that of the six leading political and public administration journals, there have only been four articles published on museums and galleries in over 347 collective years of publication. This lack of engagement means that the field that can offer insights into the study of cultural policy has little interest in it. In combination, these points have ramifications for the study of cultural policy, due to the potential for erroneous research, leading to issues around accuracy, quality and credibility; and the prospective lack of prominence as an emerging discipline.

Final Conclusions

This chapter has provided a number of conclusions for this study. Firstly, there is a need to define in more accurate terms policy generally and cultural policy specifically. This research proposes the notion of policy as a strategic and persuasive tool. This corroborates both Ham and Hill's recognition of policy as a slippery concept (1984), and Hogwood and Gunn's multiple usages of the term (1984). Whilst it is useful to

acknowledge the difficulties in locating policy and pinning it down, in order to fully understand the term and concept, greater accuracy and precision is needed.

Chapters Four and Five discussed the ambiguous status of cultural policy, through drawing attention to the lack of clarity in the terms, concepts and processes that surround it. Arguments were strongly made about the use of rhetoric as a strategy within policy. This has been a recurring theme throughout the primary data sets and secondary research in this study. Due to the peripheral nature of culture as a Government concern, it is a highly convenient vehicle for political aspiration, that is, a statement of ambition and desire, without actually making a real commitment. The murkiness within the definitions, concepts and processes are both an aid to this end, as well as a strategy in itself.

Through drawing attention to the cultural elite, this study revealed the marginalised roles of the DCMS and ACE. They are disadvantaged through their inability to both identify and define their position on internationalism, largely due to their constitutional roots. This argument sees the DCMS and ACE as tangential. Gray's recent work (2010) confirms that the DCMS is relatively insignificant for Government in terms of its status as a department. A peer review of the DCMS over a decade ago described the department as a 'pale yellow amoeba' (Montagu *et al*, 2000:1) as perceived by those within Government. In the recent memoirs of Tony Blair (2010) and Peter Mandelson (2010), cultural policy specifically and the arts more generally, were largely omitted. As an area of marginal concern, relatively little is spent on the arts. Therefore, as long as cultural policies can be rationalised and communicated in terms of their contribution to wider political objectives, they are largely disregarded, particularly after the initial allocations of funding. For cultural policy to be properly understood, a broader acknowledgment of its status and strategies is required.

This research has highlighted the need to test concepts like instrumentality against empirical evidence, rather than debate them abstractly. Instrumental policy-making as a concept predates what is now recognised by the term. It is not new or unique, as a brief consideration of art history showed. The term arose from attempts by academics to conceptualise what was happening in practice and this facilitated a significant

proportion of scholarly debate on the subject. However, due to the lack of empirical work in this area, instrumentality appears not to have been properly formulated. In this case, testing the concept empirically has demonstrated its fragility and lack of ability to reflect practice. A stronger commitment towards empirical investigation within research is required in order to ensure accuracy and credibility.

Cultural policy-making in this research was shown to be the outcome of a web of relations between key Government officials and senior figures within leading cultural organisations. Policy is a balance between practiced reality and rhetorical strategies. It is an exercise, a negotiation and a process but *crucially*, it is not always evident in the final written policy. Some recognition of these complexities is required in order to fully understand cultural policy and its making, and to advance the debate.

Alternatively, public policy studies has both recognised and explored many aspects of policy and its formulation that are yet to be acknowledged within cultural policy research. This study demonstrated that public policy provides empirical examples that show parallels with international cultural policy-making in the UK. This demonstrates the utility of moving beyond the familiar yet limited territory of cultural studies in order to enable better understanding.

Cultural diplomacy has provided a case study through which specific questions and issues concerning cultural policy have been investigated and tested. This study has demonstrated the necessity for cultural policy studies to strengthen its empirical base, re-examine key assumptions and look beyond cultural studies to achieve true interdisciplinarity.

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APPENDIX ONE

Example of the Consent Form

An examination of international cultural policy-making in the UK:

A case study of museums and galleries (working title)

I am a PhD student at Sheffield Hallam University funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). My three year project explores the emergence of 'internationalism' within cultural policy-making in Britain. I am investigating how this operates at ground level within the cultural sector and what impact it has on individuals and organisations, specifically on museums, galleries and artists.

This study relies on the voluntary participation of experts ranging from government officials, museum and gallery staff to independent artists and curators. The interviewees have been selected based on their experience of initiating, facilitating or undertaking international project work.

I would like to interview you for my research. This will involve meeting at a date, time and location to suit you. The interview will take one hour at the maximum and will be semi-structured in that it will be based on a series of questions but will also allow for digression. The material will be kept indefinitely and used for academic purposes only. It will be used in my written PhD thesis and examination which will take place in 2011.

I would like to record the interview, with your permission, using a sound recorder. If you would like a copy of the interview manuscript, please indicate this overleaf. I plan to make the identities of the interviewees clear but if you would like your identity to remain anonymous, please indicate this overleaf. You have the opportunity to ask questions or discuss your participation at any point throughout the study and you have the right to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason for your withdrawal. If you have any further questions after the interview, please do not hesitate to contact me.

My contact details are: Melissa Nisbett

Telephone: 0114 234 9186 / 07867 842 157 Email: m.nisbett@hotmail.co.uk

Please answer the following questions by circling your responses

Have you read and understood the information about the research?	YES / NO
Have you been able to ask questions about this study?	YES / NO
Have you received enough information about this study?	YES / NO
Do you give permission for the interview to be aurally recorded?	YES / NO
Would you like your identity to remain anonymous?	YES / NO
Would you like a copy of the manuscript from the interview?	YES / NO
Can I contact you after the interview if there is anything to follow up?	YES / NO
Do you understand that you can withdraw from this study at any point?	YES / NO
Do you agree to take part in this study?	YES / NO

Your signature will certify that you have voluntarily decided to take part in this study, having read and understood the information in this document. It certifies that you have had adequate opportunity to discuss the research with me and that any questions have been answered to your satisfaction.

Signature of participant:

Date:

Name (block capitals):

Signature of researcher:

Date:

Name (block capitals):

Please keep a copy of this document for your reference.

Complaints

If you would like to make a complaint about any aspect of the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr. Linda Moss, Postgraduate Studies in Cultural Policy
Sheffield Hallam University, Harmer Building, Level 4, Sheffield, S1 1WB.
Telephone: 0114 225 2665 Email: l.m.moss@shu.ac.uk

APPENDIX ONE

Example of the Interview Guide

Interview Guide for the Artists

The focus of my PhD is the emergence of 'internationalism' within current cultural policy-making in Britain. I am trying to find out about how this operates at ground level and what impact it has on individuals and organisations within the cultural sector, specifically looking at museums, galleries and artists.

YOUR INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS

Please can you tell me a little about your international practice? I'm not sure how easy it will be to talk about your international projects in general terms or whether it might be better to select a few projects to focus on. Perhaps we could begin to talking about your recent residency. I'm interested in the organisation of the projects such as:

- How the projects come about?
- How do you come across these opportunities?
- What inspires them?
- Who/which organisations/funders initiate them?
- What does the application/selection process involve?
- How do you put your ideas forward?
- What kind of objectives do you have for the projects?
- How do you express these?
- How are they funded?
- What are the objectives of the funders? How do these relate to your aims for the projects? How are they discussed? Does it involve a negotiation process? Is any of this problematic?
- Have you experienced any prescription in terms of accessing funds? Is any of this problematic?
- How are the projects evaluated? Are the funding bodies involved in the evaluations?

In general, how is your international work funded? Is it funded through the DCMS and ACE, in other words, publicly funded? Charities? Trusts and Foundations? Do you fund any of it yourself?

How important is international work to your practice, and why?

Roughly, how much of your work is international?

INTERNATIONAL POLICY-MAKING

Are you aware of the DCMS's *International Strategy* and *International Cultural Policy*? Or the Arts Council's *International Policy*? If yes, what is your understanding of these? If not, MN to explain and explore the possibility of whether the artist has obtained funding as a result of these strategies without knowing.

Do you have direct experience of them? If so, please can you explain?

Have they influenced your practice, for example, through a funding application that has led to a project?

Do you think these policies have helped you in your work as an artist? Have these new policies offered any benefits to your practice? Conversely, have these policies had any negative impact on your work?

Have you noticed any difference in getting funding for international work in recent years? Is there any difference compared to 5 and 10 years ago?

POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Some would argue that art has a role to play in international relations as a tool of political diplomacy, they call it cultural diplomacy. Have you come across this term? What are your thoughts on it?

How far do you see the international strategies and policies as engendering modern day cultural diplomacy?

Do you see your international work as part of a broader picture of cultural diplomacy? Would you consider your international work as contributing to political objectives? If so, to what extent?

If you want funding for international work, do you have to have a particular kind of agenda? Have you noticed any difference in the kinds of things that you are required to say? Have you been asked to contribute towards political objectives?

Internationalism seems to be going under the radar in terms of whole instrumentalism debate. How far would you consider the international strategies and policies to be instrumental, and why? Does the emphasis on 'internationalism' threaten the arm's length principle, and why?

Do you think that the emphasis on 'internationalism' can enable artists and organisations to continue with their international work whilst simultaneously enhancing diplomatic relations? Is it possible to have both?

To finish with a more general question, do you think that art is being used for political purposes?

Is there any aspect of your international practice that has not been covered in the interview that you would like to discuss?

Definitions

Cultural diplomacy is defined as *'the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding'* (Cummings, 2004:1).

Instrumental cultural policy is defined as the tendency *'to use cultural ventures and investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other areas'* (Vestheim, 1994:65).

Interview Guide for a Government Policy-Maker

The focus of my PhD is the emergence of ‘internationalism’ within current cultural policy-making in Britain. I am trying to find out about how this operates at ground level and what impact it has on individuals and organisations within the cultural sector, specifically looking at museums, galleries and artists.

Can you speak a little about your role at the DCMS?

DCMS’S INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

What prompted the development of the *International Strategy* and *Cultural Policy*? Was it in response to something? When did internationalism become a prominent theme within policy-making? Why did it emerge? Why was it deemed important?

Did internationalism gain a new significance or prominence?

What was the motivation behind the publication and development of these documents?

What stage is the *International Cultural Policy* at in its development? What differentiates the two documents? How do the policies relate to each other and where do they sit in relation to other policies such as the Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s *Active Diplomacy* document and the Arts Council’s *International Policy*?

Please can you talk a little about your review of the international policy/strategy?

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

How are the *International Strategy* and *International Cultural Policy* devised? Who is involved? Who are the authors of the documents? Is the power concentrated in the hands of a few decision makers or is it dispersed? Who is the audience/s for the documents?

How are the priorities set? Is repairing damaged relationships such as The Middle East more important than cultivating relationships with emerging powers i.e. India and China?

Is there any consultation between other departments and NGO's, the Arts Council or the cultural sector?

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

How are the *International Strategy* and *International Cultural Policy* implemented? In the introduction of new policy, how does the relationship between the Government and the cultural sector work in theoretical and practical terms? Please can you explain how the policy and strategy have been and will be implemented? Are these policies 'negotiated' with the Arts Council and the cultural sector?

For me, the *International Strategy* lacks operational detail, is this typical for a document such as this? Once the strategy is published, what happens next? How is it then developed and implemented? How do you communicate your intentions to the cultural sector?

Regarding the implementation, is there a defined budget for international work? If not, has there been a shift in criteria? How is funding allocated? Is there guidance for artists and organisations when applying for international funds? Does this happen through the Arts Council? How prescriptive or directive is it? Is it monitored, measured, evaluated and reviewed? Do they have to meet specific criteria? Are targets or objectives set? Is there some kind of evaluation for international work? How is the government ensuring that its priorities are being addressed? And how can it do this without being prescriptive?

What expectations do policy-makers have of the arts - the cultural organisations and artists - in relation to this area?

POLICY OUTCOMES

What impact is the strategy having at ground level on cultural organisations and individuals?

What impact has the international agenda had on the cultural sector so far? On politics so far?

What has happened since the publication of the *International Strategy*? Have changes been made? Did the *World Collections Programme* emerge as a result of these strategies? Why was the *World Collections Programme* set up? Why were those countries the focus? How did you select the cultural organisations? How was their work monitored and assessed? Also, has a separate pot of money been allocated for international work? It has for the *World Collections Programme* so has anything else like this been done? Are there any other international initiatives like this? Was this a direct result of the DEMOS report into cultural diplomacy?

Was the ACE's *International Policy* consulted in the creation of the strategy and policy? Do they relate to the ACE's policy at all?

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Do you think that art has a role to play in international relations as a tool of political diplomacy? Why?

How realistic is it to expect cultural diplomacy and cultural relations to bridge political gulfs?

How far do you see the international strategies and policies as engendering modern day cultural diplomacy? Are they part of a broader picture of cultural diplomacy?

If yes, why is the term 'cultural diplomacy' not used in the *International Strategy*? Is the term 'cultural diplomacy' used in the *International Cultural Policy*?

Are there objectives or intentions when it comes to cultural diplomacy? Why are the cultural diplomacy intentions not explicit? Why does the policy not mention cultural diplomacy or cultural relations?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of cultural diplomacy for the cultural sector?

Is there any link between the international strategies and policies and cultural diplomacy? Is there evidence that cultural diplomacy is effective and achieves its objectives?

INSTRUMENTALISM

For me, internationalism seems to be going under the radar in terms of whole instrumentalism debate. How far would you consider the international strategies and policies to be instrumental, and why? Does the emphasis on 'internationalism' threaten the arm's length principle, and why?

In nurturing positive international relations, is there a danger that by using the arts in this way, they will become used for political ends?

Do you think that the emphasis on 'internationalism' can enable artists and organisations to continue with their international work whilst simultaneously enhancing diplomatic relations? Is it possible to have both?

Do you think that art is being used for political purposes?

Definitions

Cultural diplomacy is defined as *'the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding'* (Cummings, 2004:1).

Instrumental cultural policy is defined as the tendency *'to use cultural ventures and investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other areas'* (Vestheim, 1994:65).

APPENDIX TWO
Selected Workings from the Document Analysis

This section presents a collection of workings from the analysis of the documents. Essentially, it is a selection from the ongoing memo which was produced throughout the process and includes notes and thematic maps. It is important to state that the analytic material presented here was not created for general display *per se*. As such, this section has not been written as a continuation of the argument. It is written as a verbatim log, so there are characteristic changes in tense, due to the nature of keeping a diary and some of the notes and diagrams may not be self-explanatory as stand alone details. However, this section should be considered in its analytic context. The memo is dated to provide an audit trail and to track the significant points in the conceptualisation of ideas.

Analysis of the DCMS's *International Strategy*

06/12/08 – 16/12/08 – Coding

Thorough repeated readings of the strategy took place and anything of interest was noted. It was not considered how these notes related to each other or what future themes might be. At this stage it was purely about establishing initial ideas about the text.

Several key words and phrases began to stand out and connections between these began to emerge. I highlighted these on a hard copy of the document, manually marking them using a basic form of colour coding. Methodology books say that when undertaking the initial coding, keep some of the surrounding data so that the word, term or phrase has some contextual information. In no particular order, here are the codes that formed the initial codebook:

Galvanise	Build/building	Mutual
Aid to trade	Shared	Competitive
Britain / British	Collaborate	Partnership
'We', 'our' and 'us'	Excellence	Supporting the UK economy
Common goal	Trade and investment	Strong / strongest / strength
Conflict / post-conflict	World-class	New / unique
Reconciliation	'DCMS will continue to'	Contribute / contribution
Break down barriers	Understanding	Currently / existing / ongoing
Globally competitive	Legacy	The economic value
'A lot of our work has an international dimension'	'...enjoy the highest international reputation'	'Our museums make a major contribution to Britain's international prestige'

After determining an initial group of codes, a numerical analysis was then undertaken to try to increase the identification of repeated words or phrases. The purpose of this is to maximise the initial codes in order to identify as many as possible for potential refinement into themes, rather than content analysis. Since the document is in an electronic format, it is straightforward. The results of this are shown in the table below.

Word/phrase	Occurrences
Partnership/s	12
Relationship/s	4
World / World-class / World city / Worldwide / World stage	88 (82, 2, 1, 1, 2)
'Lead the world'	1
'Around the world'	4
'World events'	1
'Rest of the world'	1
'Globalised world'	1
'Best of the world'	2
Best	12
'Best of Britain'	1
Significant	4
International	166
'International partnerships'	1
Excellence	14
Vital, crucial, essential	4 (2, 2, 0)
Important	8
'We'/'our'/'us'	131 (44, 74, 3)
Value/s	11
New	19
Global / globalised / globally / globalisation	29 (23, 1, 3, 2)
Growing / growth	9 (6, 3)
Fastest / fast / largest / large / larger / stronger / strong / strongly / healthy	19 (2, 2, 3, 1, 1, 2, 4, 2, 2)
Unites	2
Understanding	12
Diplomacy / diplomatic / diplomatically	6 (4, 1, 1)

Trade / economy / economic	43 (9, 24, 10)
Skills	3
In demand	3
At home / home	4, 7
Talent	3
Distinctive / distinctly	3 (1, 2)
Open / openness / opened / acceptance / access	9 (2, 2, 1, 1, 3)
Continue/s/d	6 (5, 1, 0)
Build on / building on	19 (7, 12)
Unique / uniquely	7 (6, 1)
Contribute / contributed	9 (5, 4)
Challenge/s	5
Existing / currently / already	7 (3, 2, 2)
Maximise / capitalise / exploit	6 (2, 2, 2)
Mutual/ly	3 (2, 1)
Share/d	9 (3, 6)
Tolerance	2
Success / successful / successfully	12 (4, 4, 4)
Must / need	8 (5, 3)
Legacy	4
Exchange/s	3 (2, 1)

18/12/08

I then used the thesaurus to look for alternative meanings of words to try to code as much of the document as possible and to find words or phrases that may have been overlooked in the initial readings. I also began to experiment with collocations of certain words, as the table below shows.

Collocations	Occurrences
'Best' in the same sentence as 'UK'/'Britain'	9
'World' in the same sentence as positive words such as 'best'/'pre-eminent'/'spectacular'/'lead'/'top'/'high quality'/'success'	16
'Understanding' appearing directly after shared/deeper/building/increasing/better/(cross) cultural/mutual	10

'Understanding' in same sentence as positive words/phrases such as 'resolution' / 'break down barriers' / 'building bonds' / 'shared history' / 'knowledge gains' / 'expertise' / 'exchange' / 'tolerance' / 'shared experience'	10
'Diplomacy' in same sentence as 'understanding'	1
'World' in same sentence as 'safe/r'	2
'World' in same sentence as 'excellence'	1
'UK in same sentence as 'excellence'	7
'International' in same sentence as 'excellence'	5
'World' in same sentence as 'heritage'	18

21/12/08 – Devising themes

It has started to become clearer that some of the words and phrases have similar or related meanings and can be combined or grouped together with sub-themes. The emergent themes are:

- 1) Unity – a clear attempt to establish unity within the British people and the need to engender solidarity within the nation.
- 2) Cooperation – the importance of cooperation between nation-states.
- 3) Competition – competition and economic growth. One of the DCMS's five goals is explicitly based on the economy and developing international markets.
- 4) Britain is best – a notion of Britain being 'the best' in terms of its culture, media and sport.
- 5) Providing support - 'evidence' of how the DCMS is providing support to Government in its wider political objectives.
- 6) Making a contribution – how the DCMS makes a contribution internationally, through the use of narrative and statements of 'fact'.
- 7) Potential – the potential of the DCMS and its sectors to contribute further to wider political objectives.
- 8) New – many instances of 'new' and synonyms such as unique, innovative and 'first time'. The work of the DCMS is seen as groundbreaking and world leading.
- 9) Acknowledgment – external recognition of the sporting and cultural sector.
- 10) Recognition – how the DCMS recognises the importance of its work.
- 11) Commitment – instances of DCMS stating its commitment to the Government and wider political objectives.

24/12/08 – Refining themes

After establishing the first group of themes, I revisited the data to ensure that these preliminary categories fitted with the content of the document. Through this process, I discovered additional words and phrases that could be assigned to the themes. For example, the sentences *‘British skills are in demand across the globe’* (p.8) and *‘British designers lead the world’* (p.2) were picked up in this further reading and corresponded with the *‘Britain is best’* theme.

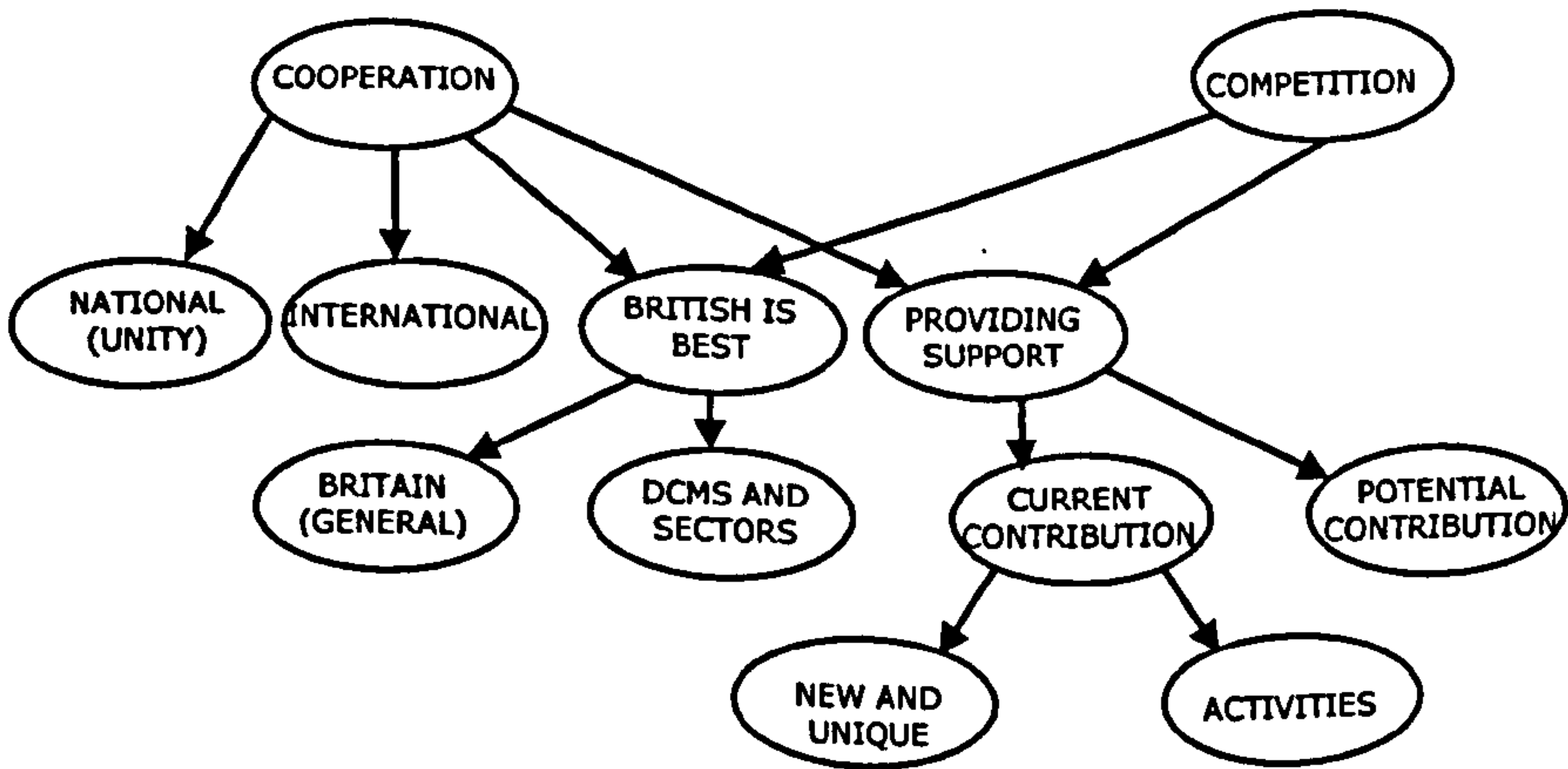
28/12/08

When I re-examined the document, I noticed that the theme entitled *‘unity’* was frequently double coded with *‘cooperation’*. I realised that these were both types of cooperation but could be sub-divided into national and international cooperation. *‘Unity’* refers to the discussion of engendering solidarity within the nation, whilst *‘cooperation’* relates to Britain’s liaison with other nations.

Upon returning to the data, it was also found that on closer inspection, the theme *‘acknowledgment’* did not work. All of the text that had been assigned to this theme was actually the DCMS acknowledging itself and its contribution, rather than its work being acclaimed by external organisations or individuals. So, the text allocated to this theme could be combined with one of the other themes. This was also true of the theme *‘commitment’*, as everything that had been categorised under *‘commitment’* was actually a stated intention by the DCMS to support central Government. Therefore, this theme was abandoned and the coded text was re-coded as *‘providing support’*.

This iterative process continued until I was satisfied that the themes were appropriate for the content of the strategy. Thematic maps were also used as a method for refinement. The following maps show the various attempts to rework the themes, devising main themes and sub-themes that are both appropriate for the data and workable.

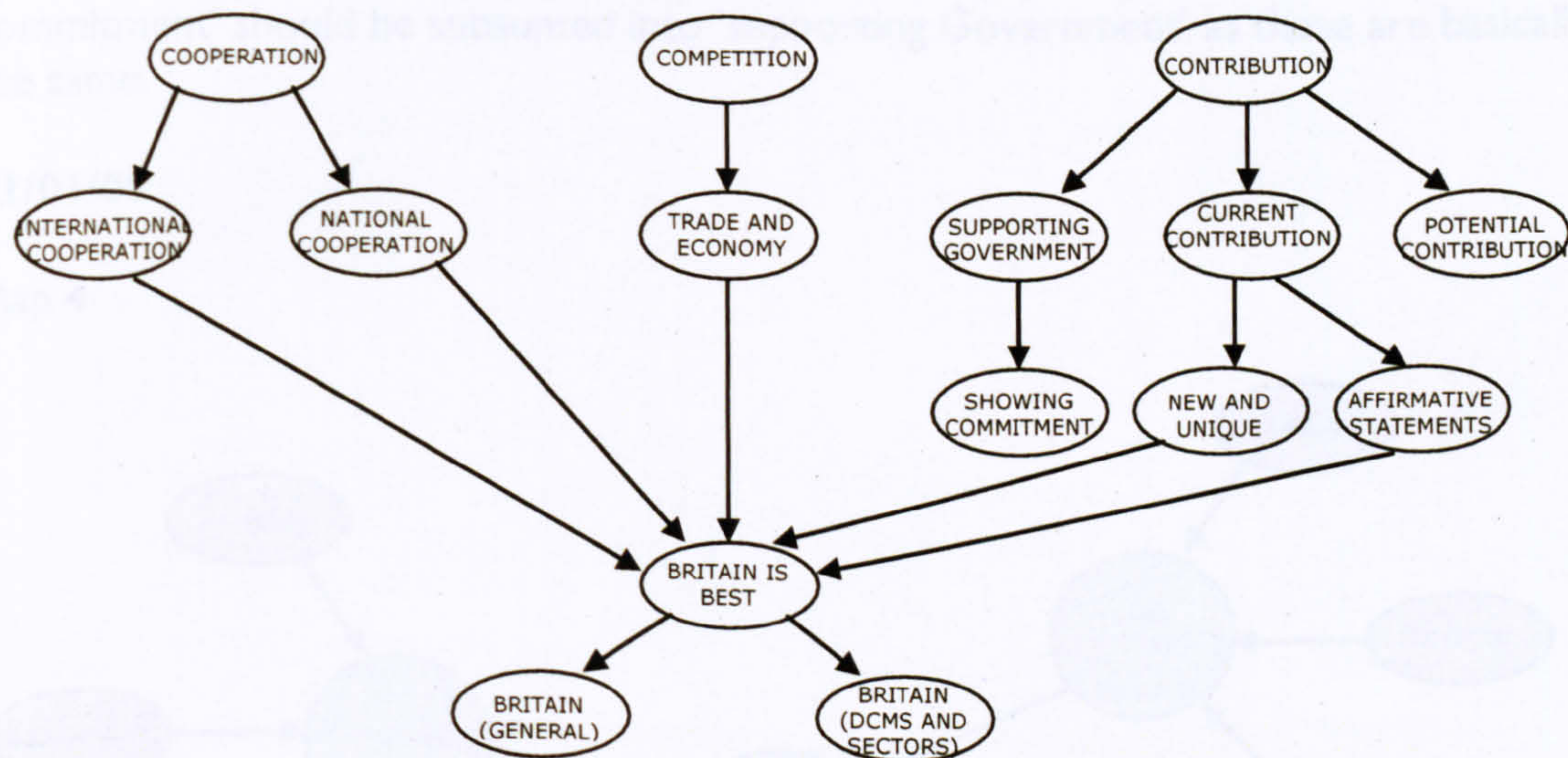
Map 1



Despite featuring the theme *‘competition’*, the initial map did not show trade and economy, and *‘competition’* as a whole was not prominent enough. That is, it did not accurately reflect the data, as it comprised a significant element of the document. This

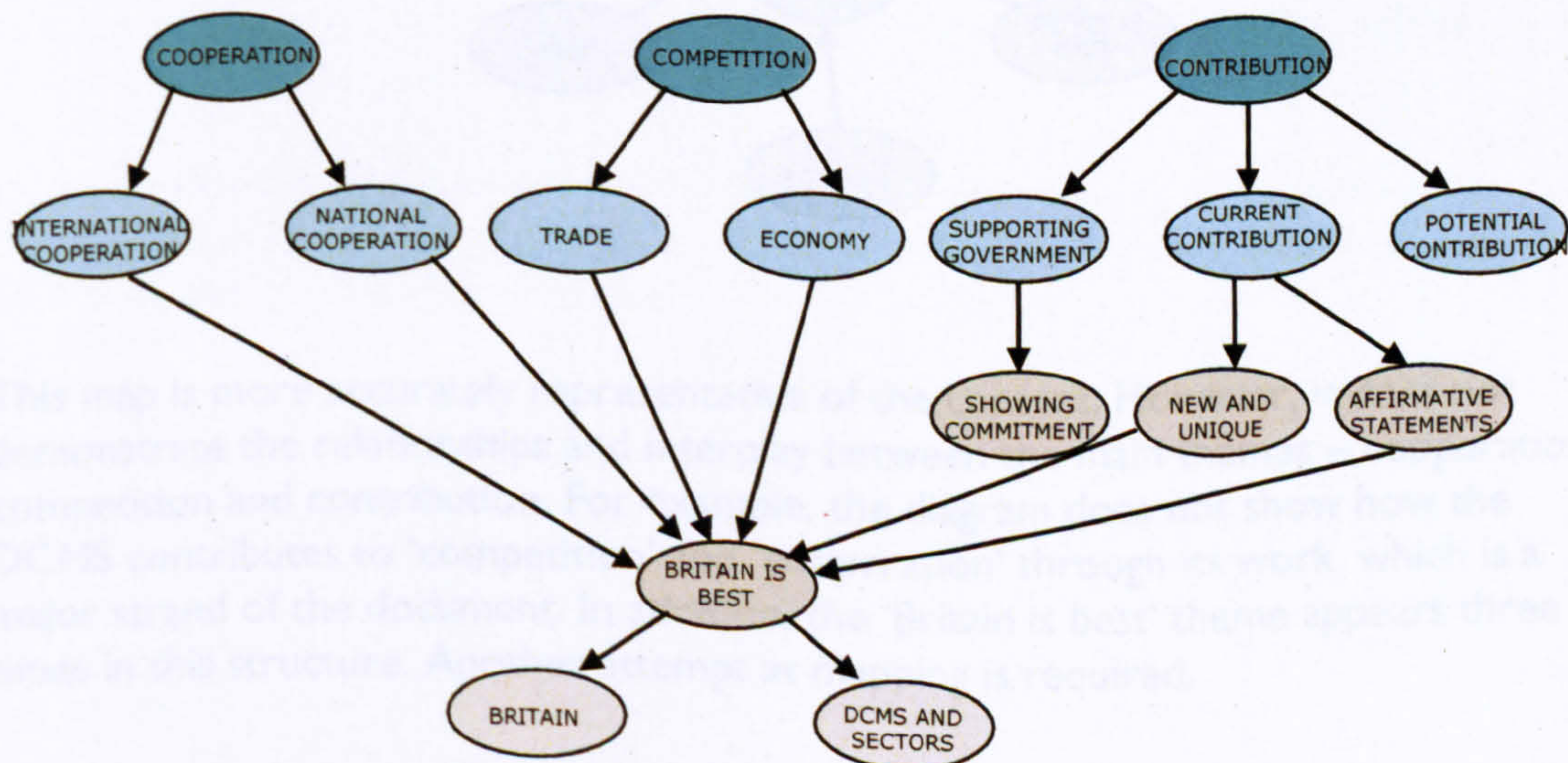
needed to be adjusted. I also thought that some of the sub-themes did not sit comfortably. Whilst I was fairly satisfied with the themes, I was not sure that the structure was right. The second attempt at defining the sub-themes can be seen below. The sub-theme 'activities', which described the 'evidence' presented by the DCMS of its own merits, has been changed to 'affirmative statements', as this is a more accurate description. I have also divided 'Britain is best' into two, with one category referring to culture, media and sport and the other referring to the country in general.

Map 2



Upon further consideration, 'competition' needs to be further divided. 'Trade' directly refers to generating sales, whereas 'economy' concerns the financial resources of the country. I then used colour coding to distinguish the major themes and sub-themes.

Map 3



03/01/09

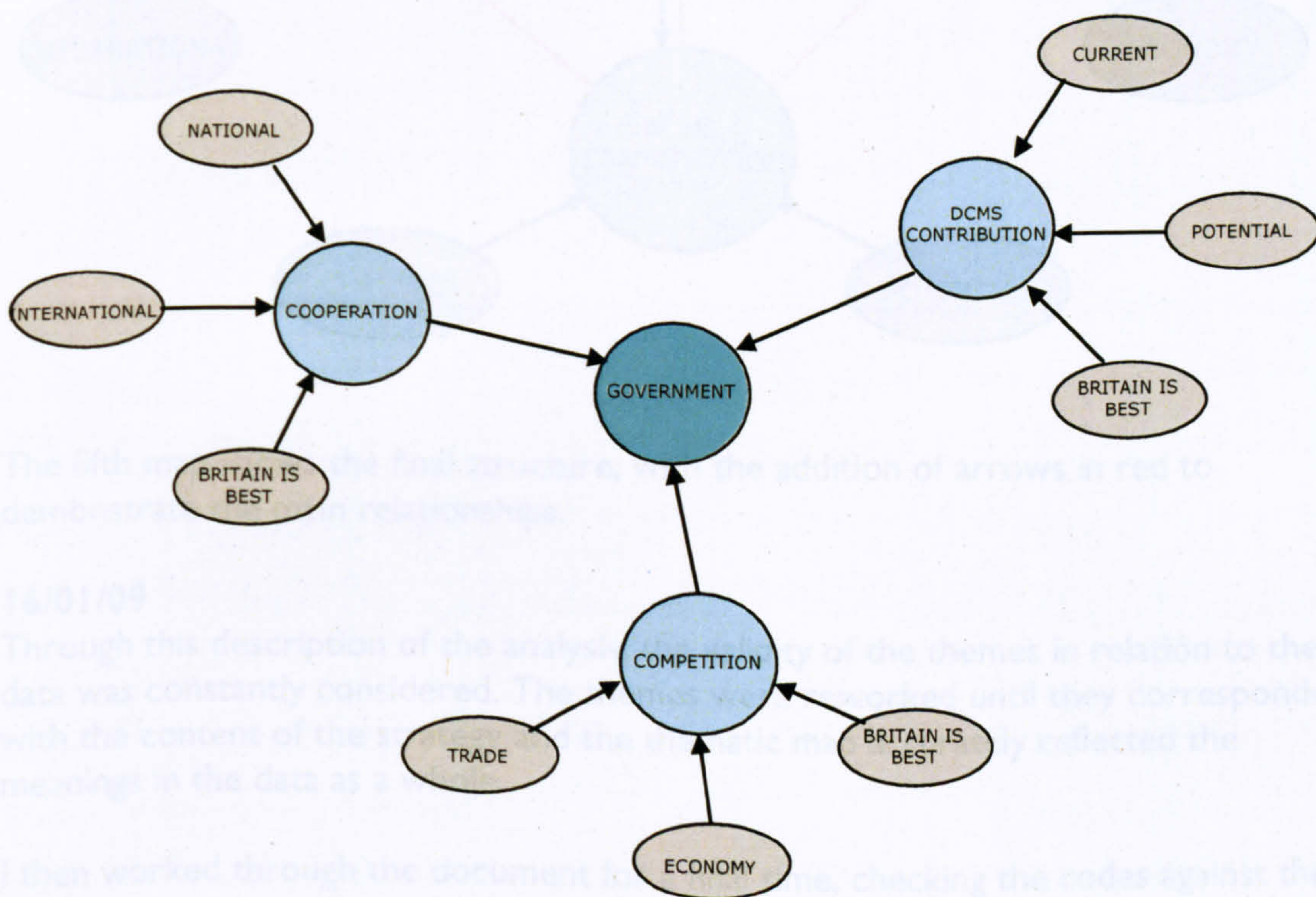
The colour coding enabled me to see a fundamental error in the structure. Essentially, all of the themes are about supporting Government, yet in the map, it appears as though it is only the theme 'contribution' that refers to this support. A restructure is needed.

04/01/09

On reflection, the theme 'contribution' and its sub-divisions are overly complicated. Looking closely at each sub-theme, there is too much overlap and similarity. The themes 'affirmative statements' and 'new and unique' are actually part of the DCMS's current contribution, so these should be combined. The category 'showing commitment' should be subsumed into 'supporting Government' as these are basically the same.

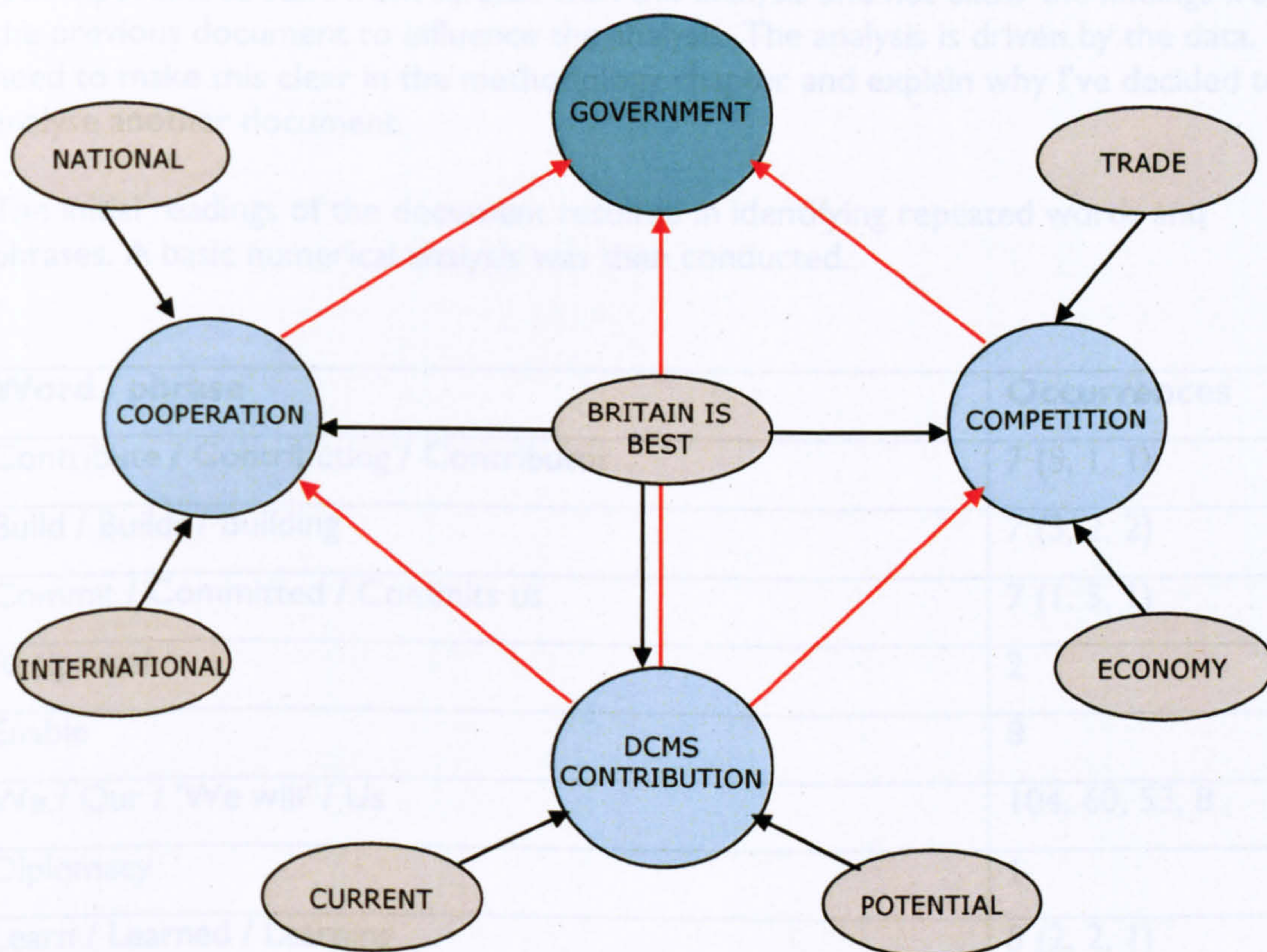
11/01/09

Map 4



This map is more accurately representative of the content. However, it does not demonstrate the relationships and interplay between the main themes – cooperation, competition and contribution. For example, the diagram does not show how the DCMS contributes to 'competition' and 'cooperation' through its work, which is a major strand of the document. In addition, the 'Britain is best' theme appears three times in this structure. Another attempt at mapping is required.

14/01/09 Map 5



The fifth map shows the final structure, with the addition of arrows in red to demonstrate the main relationships.

16/01/09

Through this description of the analysis, the validity of the themes in relation to the data was constantly considered. The themes were reworked until they corresponded with the content of the strategy and the thematic map accurately reflected the meanings in the data as a whole.

I then worked through the document for a final time, checking the codes against the themes and the themes against the overall content. I also ensured that there was no additional data that had been missed in the earlier coding stages.

Analysis of Arts Council England's *International Policy*

03/02/09 – 16/02/09

It is important to start from scratch with this analysis and not allow the findings from the previous document to influence the analysis. The analysis is driven by the data. I need to make this clear in the methodology chapter and explain why I've decided to analyse another document.

The initial readings of the document resulted in identifying repeated words and phrases. A basic numerical analysis was then conducted.

Word / phrase	Occurrences
Contribute / Contributing / Contributor	7 (5, 1, 1)
Build / Builds / Building	7 (3, 2, 2)
Commit / Committed / Commits us	7 (1, 5, 1)
Reciprocal	2
Enable	8
We / Our / 'We will' / Us	104, 60, 53, 8
Diplomacy	1
Learn / Learned / Learning	5 (2, 2, 1)
New / Newer	7 (6, 1)
Share / Shared	5 (4, 1)
Understand / Understanding	8 (2, 6)
Develop / Develops / Development / Developing / Developed	41 (17, 1, 16, 5, 2)
'State of mind'	3
Support / Supports / Supporting / Supported	28 (18, 1, 7, 2)
Strategy / Strategies / Strategic	8 (1, 3, 4)
Art / Arts / Artistic / Art forms	59 (5, 49, 1, 1)
Artist-led / Artist-centred	3 (1, 2)
Exchange / Exchanges	6 (5, 1)
Invest / Investment / Investing / Invested	3 (0, 2, 1, 0)
Complement / Complements	3 (2, 1)
Partner / Partners / Partnership / Partnerships	27 (13, 14)
Working / International working / Working with / Working with more closely	17 (3, 9, 4, 1)

Humility	2
Framework	3
Mechanisms	3
Key	7
Collaboration / Collaborations	3 (2, 1)
Promote / Promotes / Promoter / Promoters / Promoted	14 (6, 1, 5, 1, 1)
Advocacy / Advocate / Advocates	5 (2, 1, 2)
'At the heart of'	7
Encourage	12
Advice	1
Agencies	10
Other / Others	26 (21, 5)

18/02/09

Through repeated readings, a number of potential themes began to emerge which included instrumentalism, humility, a strategic approach and artist-centred. I reflected on these initial ideas by creating a series of thematic maps.

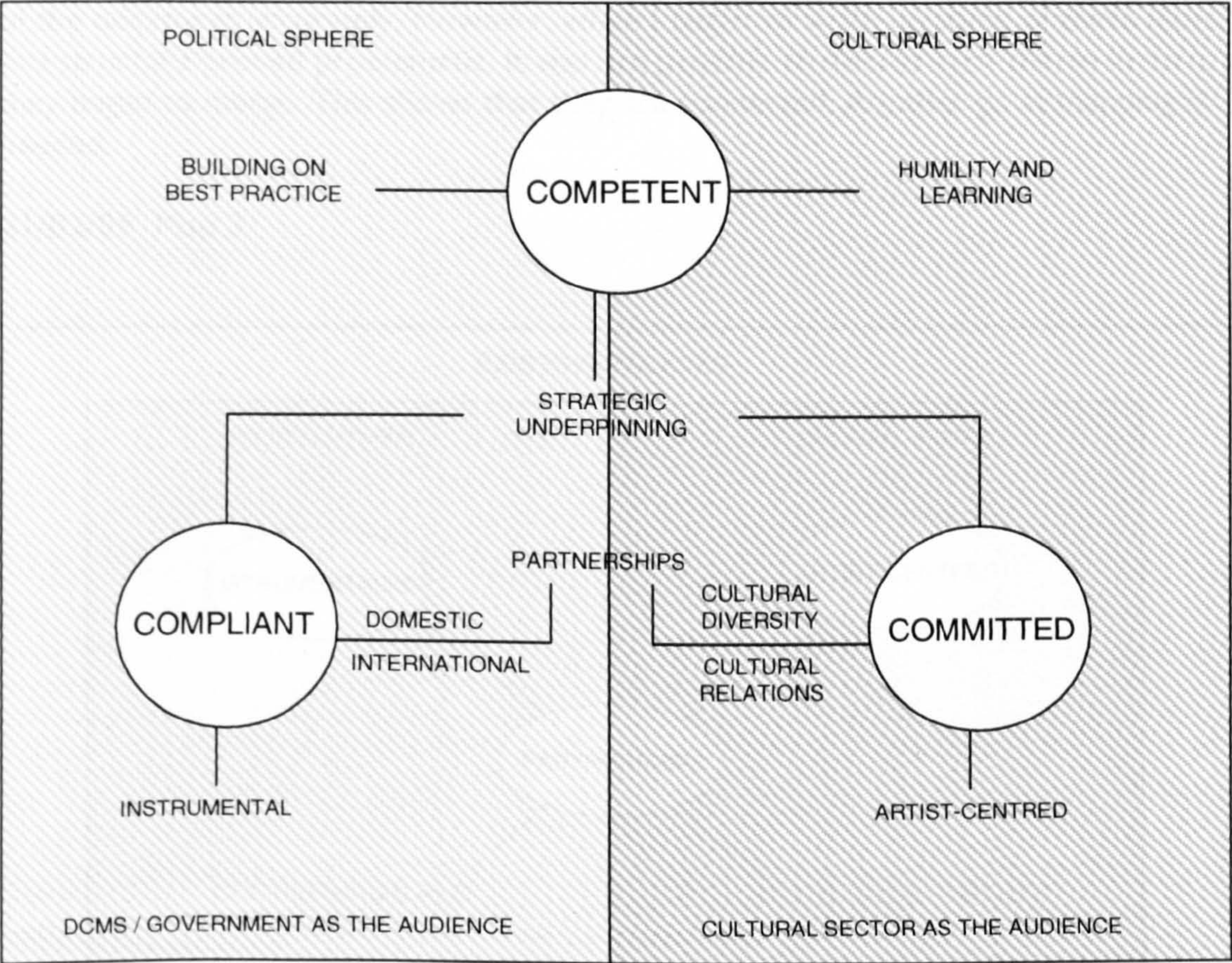
Three main themes seemed to be emerging - compliance, commitment and competence.

It also began to emerge that there was a dual audience for the strategy - the DCMS/central Government and the cultural sector. The strategy seems to be trying to communicate that it is committed to the arts and that it is competent to effectively manage the allocation of funding and support the sector. Cultural diversity comprises a proportion of the document and cultural relations is suggested.

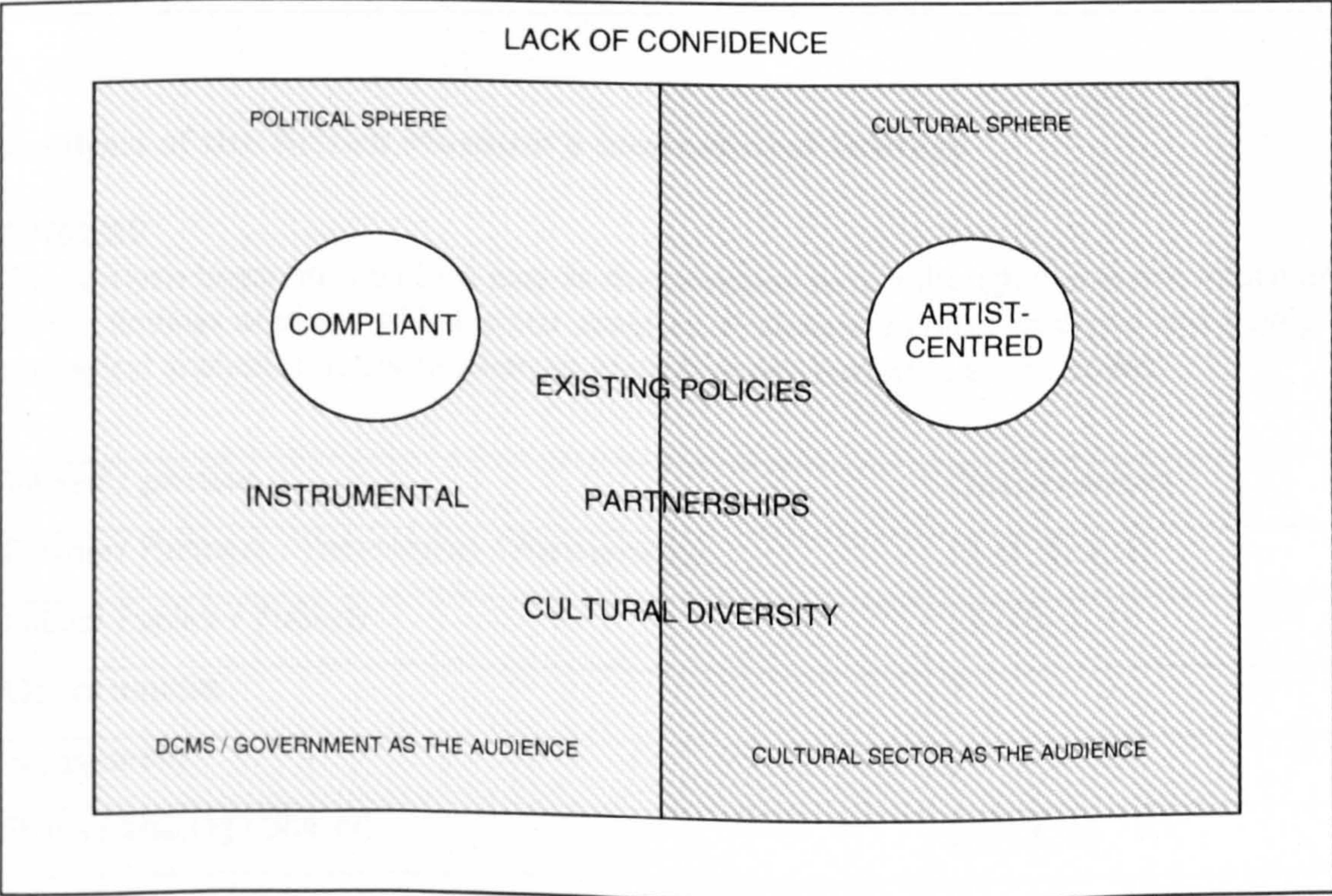
Working through the mapping process revealed many problems with these initial thoughts. What firstly appears to be a strategic approach is actually a reiteration of current policies. There seems to be no new information about an international strategy, rather, an international dimension had been tagged onto existing policies. The document is very artist-centred and this forms a large proportion of the text. As a consequence, this requires a more prominent position in the map.

I began to consider whether ACE attempting to establish a role for itself is a potential theme. The notion of ACE as a 'learning organisation' is promoted. I have decided that humility and learning was an element of this, rather than the modest position that it had first appeared to be in the initial readings. The potential theme 'cultural relations' also does not work. When the document discusses partnerships, it is very much a one-way vision. There is no mention of mutual understanding and little discussion about reciprocal relationships, both of which feature in text book definitions of cultural relations.

Map 1

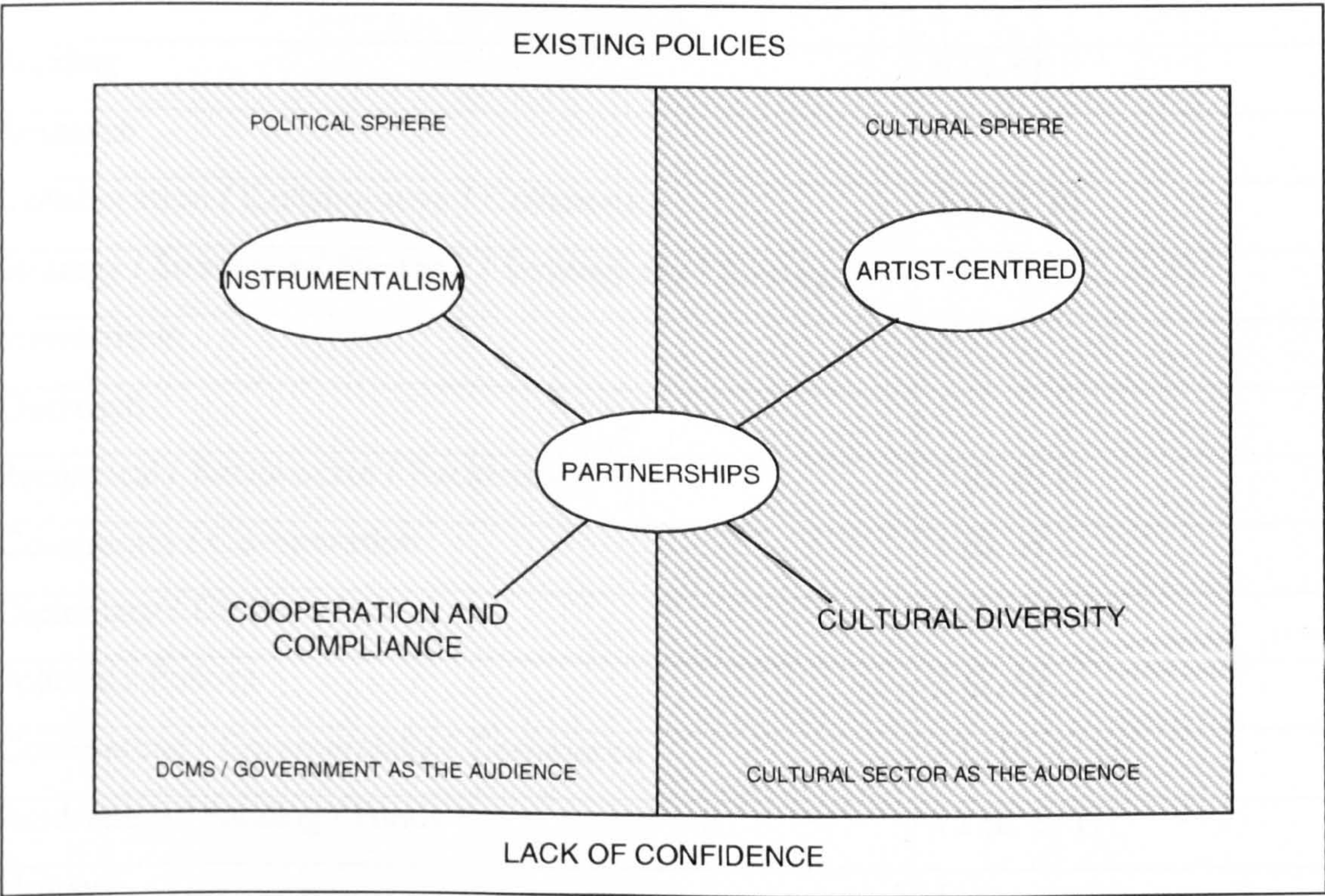


20/02/09 Map 2



I have decided that the themes are accurate in the sense that they convey the content of the document accurately. However, when I began to write up some of these ideas, this structure proved problematic. It was not possible to discuss each theme in turn, as they began to merge. This shows that they are connected. Another go at mapping is needed.

21/02/09 Map 3



Analysis of the British Museum’s International Strategy

27/02/09

The analysis began in the same way as the previous two, although it was not informed by the findings of either of the prior analyses. Preliminary codes emerged and a simple numerical analysis was undertaken to identify more instances of the codes.

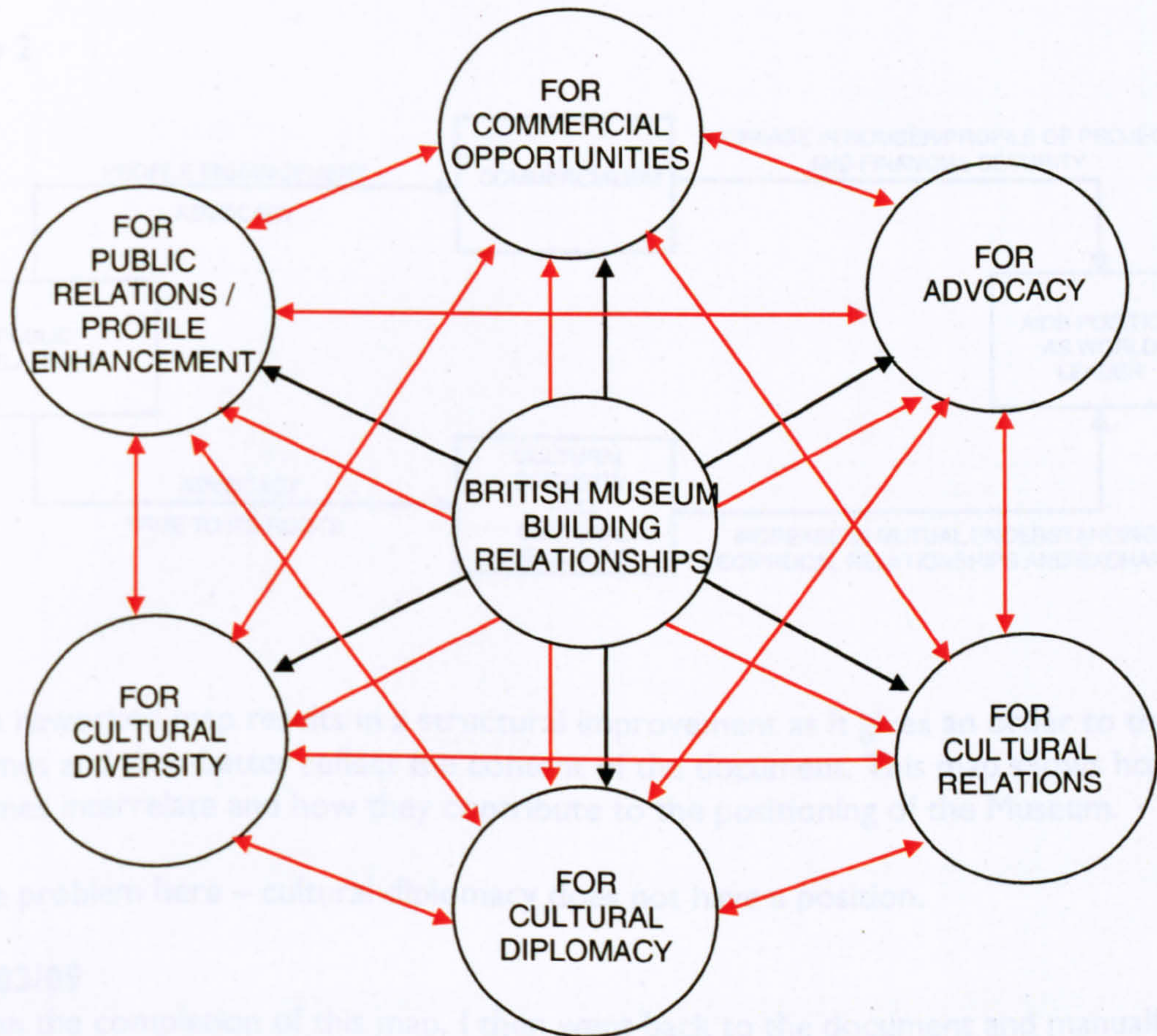
Word / phrase	Occurrences
Partner/ Partners / Partnership / Partnerships	12 (1, 8, 2, 1)
Public/ Publics / Publicly	13 (10, 2, 1)
Opportunities	7
Engagement	3
Share / Sharing / Shared	5 (1, 3, 1)

Territory / territories	6 (2, 4)
Knowledge	6
Exchange / Exchanges	6 (3, 3)
Learn / Learned / Learning	3 (1, 1, 1)
Capacity	2
Network / Networks	4 (3, 1)
Mutual / Mutuality	2 (1, 1)
Building	6 (2, 4)
Research	6
Collaboration / Collaborative / Collaborate	3 (0, 3, 0)
Strategy / Strategies / Strategic / Strategically / Strategy's	15 (10, 1, 2, 1, 1)
Stewardship	2
Outreach	1
Reciprocal / Reciprocate / Reciprocity	1 (0, 0, 1)
Co-operate / Co-operation	1 (0, 1)
Diplomacy / Diplomatic	6 (2, 4)
Political / Politics	2 (2, 0)
Commercial / Commercially / Commerce	12 (10, 1, 1)
Fundraising / Funding / Funds	12 (6, 5, 1)
Money	1
Income generated	1
Merchandise	1
Sales	1
Advocacy	2

04/03/09

Through a repetition of the stages outlined previously, the initial themes began to develop. These were public relations, cultural diversity, commercialism, cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, position as a world leader, advocacy and building relationships. In order to develop these further, a series of mapping exercises will be conducted.

Map 1



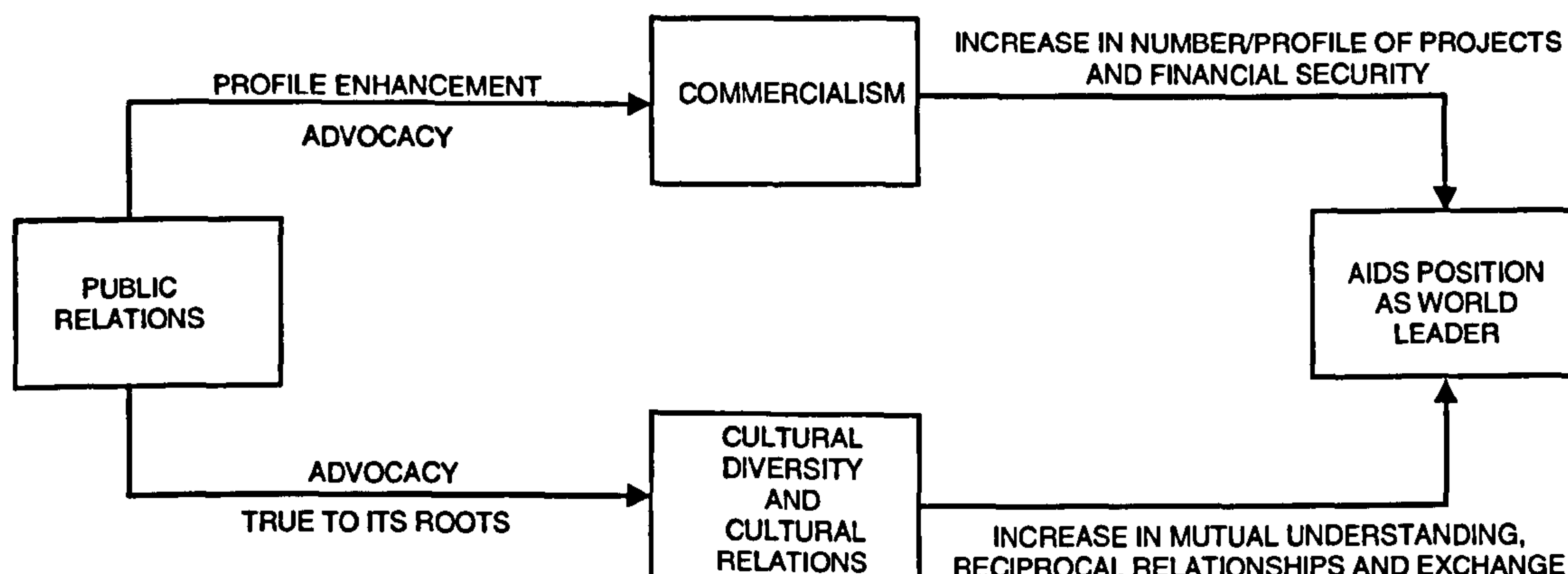
This map does not work because it gives all of the themes an equal weight, whereas in the document, some themes are stronger than others, and some dependent on others. There is a definite sequence or hierarchy to the themes. For example, commercial opportunities were dependent on profile building through PR. In this map, the structure of the themes are not quite right. With further consideration, it makes sense for the 'advocacy' theme to be subsumed into 'public relations', as it is a widely accepted as a tool of PR, in theoretical terms.

07/03/09

The black arrows also seem to be pointing in the wrong direction. After more readings of the strategy, it became increasingly clear that the British Museum's strategy is about building up the organisation. An obvious point. The motivation is to enhance the position of the Museum. And whilst the Museum aims to build relationships, these partnerships seem to be for expanding the organisation and to ultimately position it (or maintain its position) as a world leader.

07/03/09

Map 2



This reworked map results in a structural improvement as it gives an order to the themes and they better reflect the content of the document. This map shows how the themes interrelate and how they contribute to the positioning of the Museum.

One problem here – cultural diplomacy does not have a position.

08/03/09

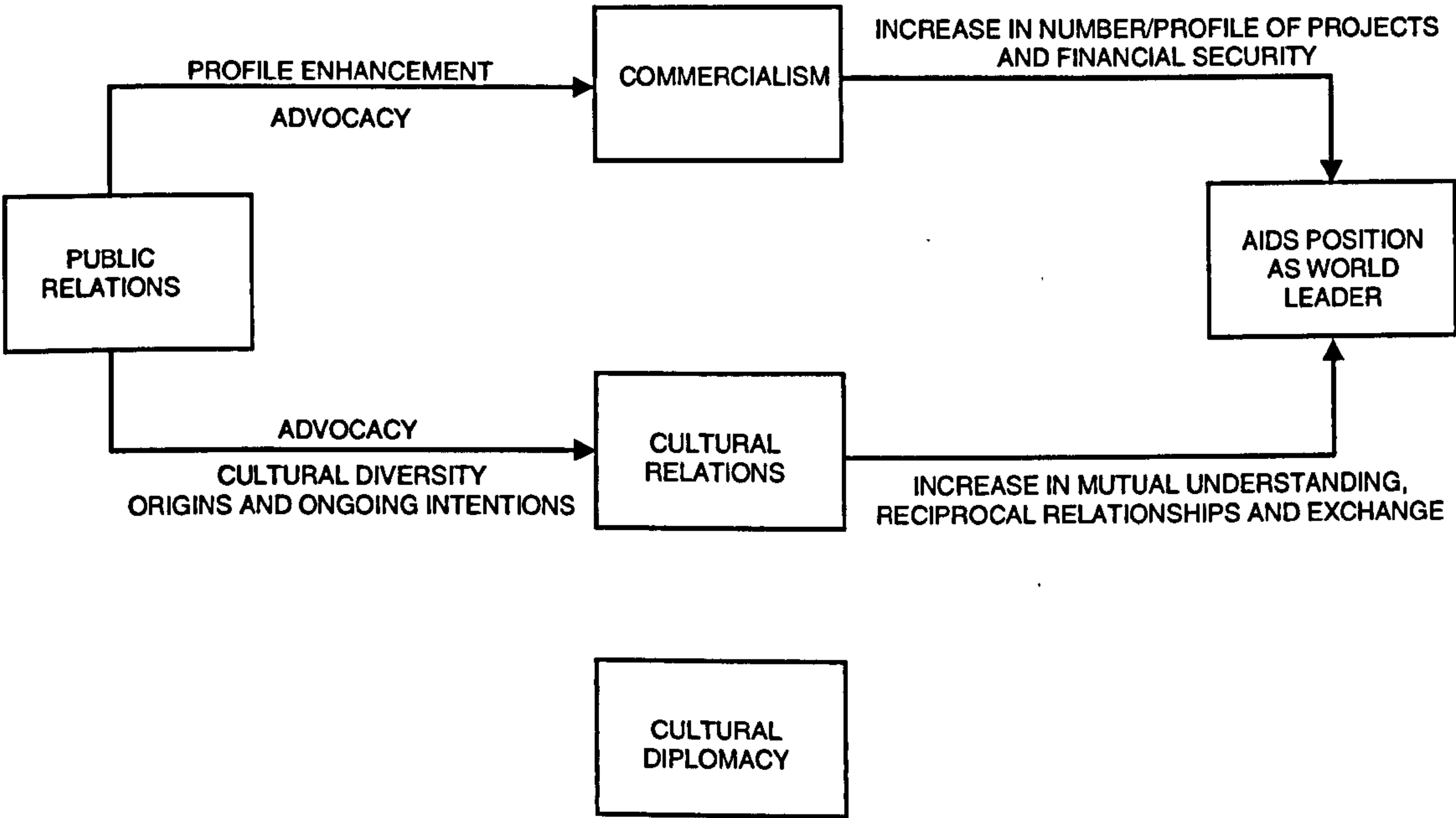
Upon the completion of this map, I then went back to the document and manually colour coded it again, checking that I could code the entire text using the themes established in the map. This allowed me to further consider each theme. Through this process, I decided that 'true to its roots' and 'cultural diversity' were synonymous as the Museum endeavours to embrace cultural diversity in all aspects of its artistic programme, to reflect the breadth of its collection. This could be interpreted as being fundamental to the Museum's original and historical vision, essential to its current practice, as well as its intentions for the future. It is through cultural diversity and a celebration of difference that cultural relations is engendered.

11/03/09

I'm having difficulty ascertaining where cultural diplomacy fits in. It is mentioned within the document in several places and as a result of this, it warranted a position within the thematic map. At an early point within the analysis, I wondered whether there was not a place within the visual map for cultural diplomacy because it may not truly be on the agenda for the British Museum. In the document, there is a feeling that cultural diplomacy is an unwelcome addition, even a source of tension. At one point, the document states '*diplomacy versus commerce*' (p.5).

I considered the place of cultural diplomacy in the map because the document does not appear fully committed to it. It seemed to be something that the Museum *should* do, rather than something it *wants* to do. Another map is required.

Map 3



I am satisfied that the themes and their structure reflect the content of the document.

April 2009

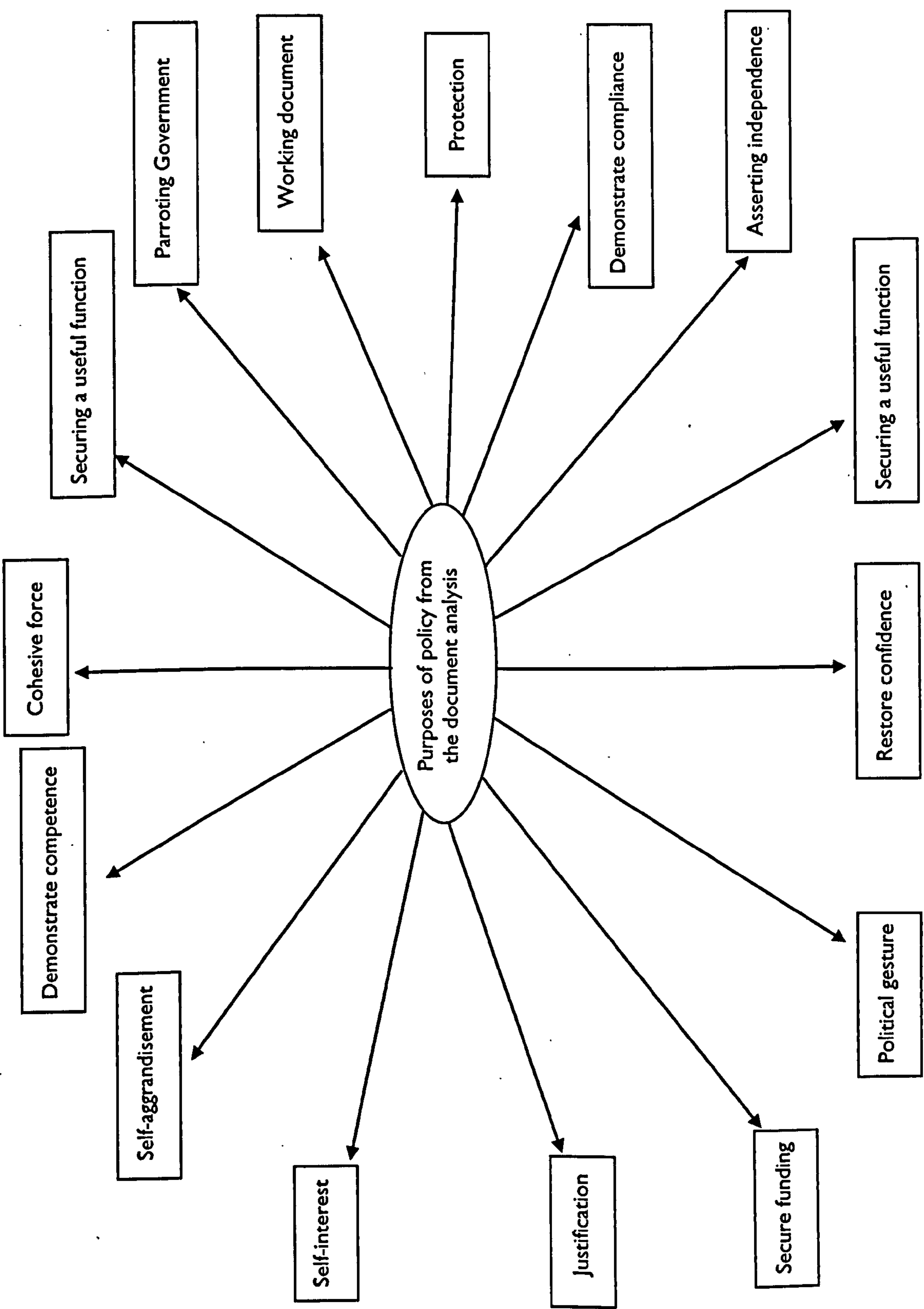
Each analysis was followed by a final writing up of the analysis including looking closely at the themes and justifying them through providing examples from the data. Writing was also used throughout the analyses, at the same time as memos and mapping, to help with the conceptualisation of ideas.

When I had extensively written about each document, I then started to think about overarching conclusions, looking across all of the documents. This involved compiling a compare and contrast table in which I used colour coding to highlight similarities between the texts. This identified a number of overarching themes. The table overleaf shows this exercise.

I then returned to these overarching themes and conclusions, around eighteen months later, in light of the ongoing interview analysis. The mapping following the compare and contrast table documents some of this thinking.

	DCMS document	ACE document	British Museum document
Date of publication	October 2006	June 2005	December 2006
Intended audience	Upwards	Upwards	Inwards and upwards
How does it begin?	By stating FCO's objectives	Foreword by Chairman	Original mission of museum
Final themes	Cooperation	Cooperation	
		Cultural diversity	Cultural diversity
	Competition		Commercialism
		Loss of confidence	Public relations
		Partnerships	Cultural diplomacy
	Contribution (to Government)	Contribution (instrumentalism)	Contribution (to the world)
	Alliance, compliance and competence	Alliance, compliance and competence	Action for expansionism
	Assertive	Open and vague	Confident and self-assured
	Rhetorical devices	Rhetorical devices	No rhetorical devices
	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Mentioned in several places
Instrumental?	Seeks to be instrumental	Seeks to be instrumental	Seeks to be instrumental
Level of prescription/direction	Little, only FCO priority countries	No prescription	A high level of prescription
Responsive or proactive?	Responsive	Responsive	Proactive
Does it relate to other activities?	Informed by FCO	Written in a vacuum	May have followed DCMS
Reason for its publication	Self-protection and self-justification	Self-protection and self-justification	Self-strengthening and growth

Comparing and Contrasting the Document Analyses (April 2009)



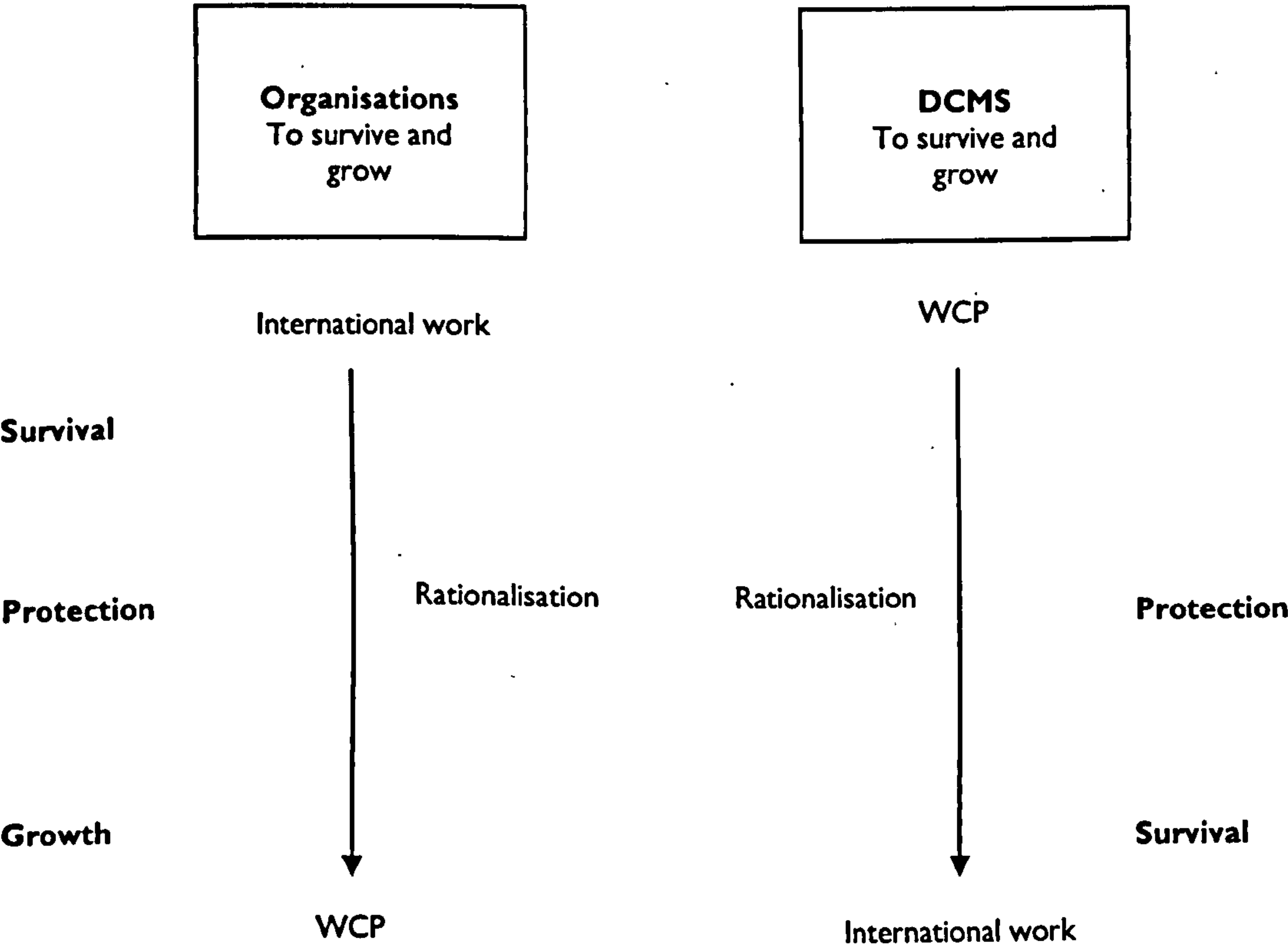
Thematic Mapping – Document Analysis

20/09/10 – Co-dependency

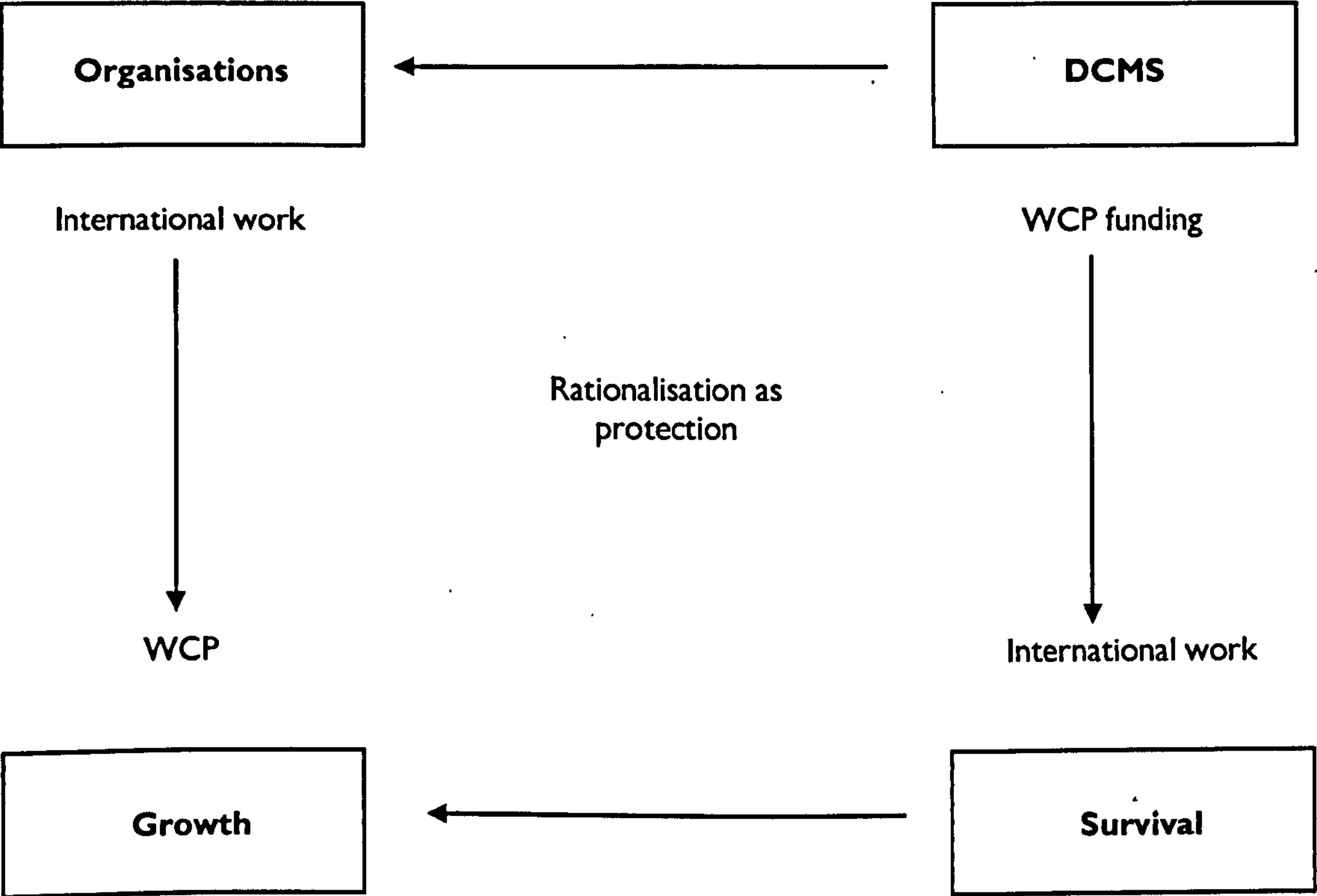
‘International cultural policy: a co-dependent marriage?’

They are mutually dependent - so if the DCMS keeps surviving, the sector keeps growing and if the sector keeps growing, the DCMS keep surviving. It’s like an ecosystem, involving interactions between communities. Am I onto something here? I need to work through some of this.

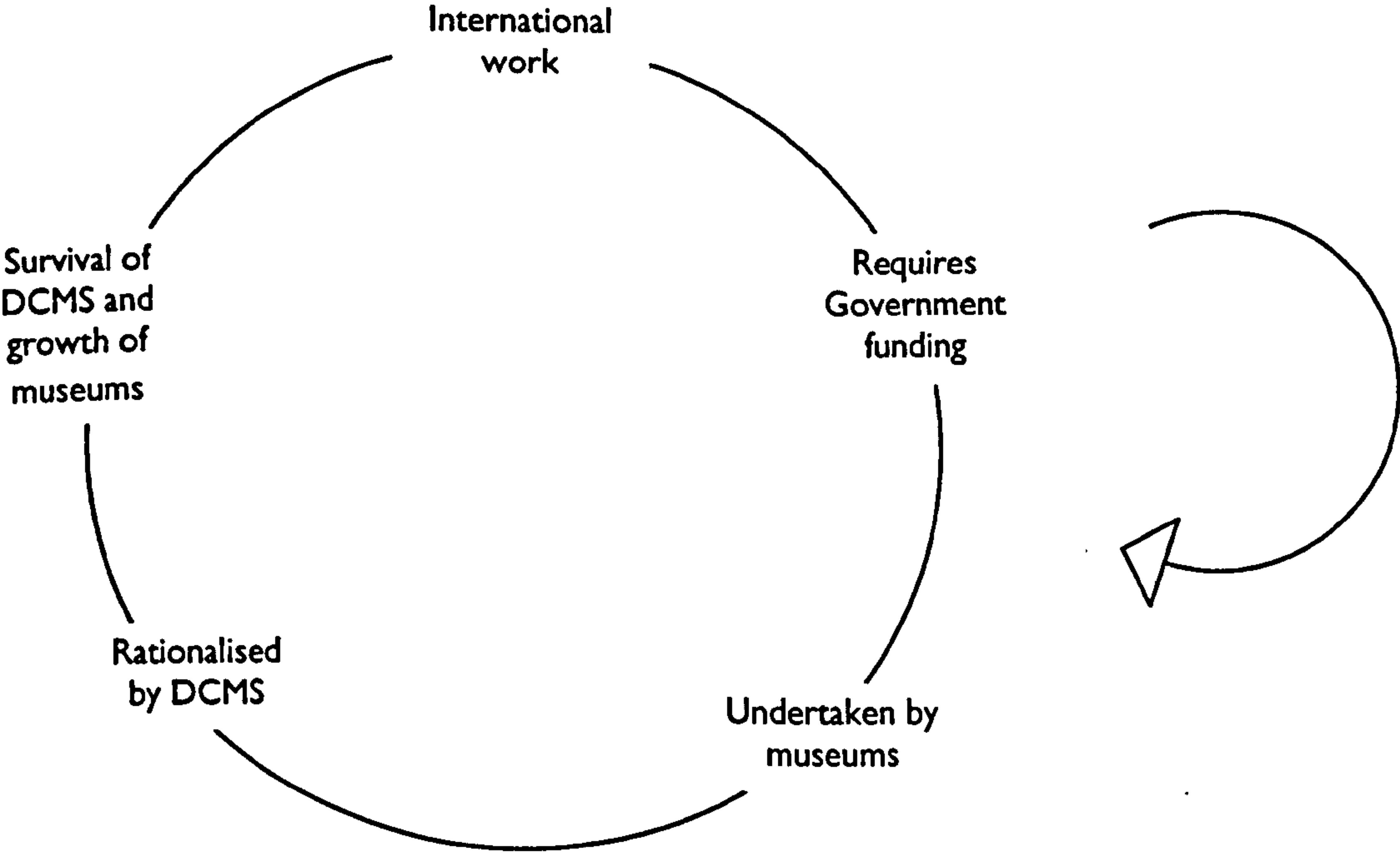
Map I



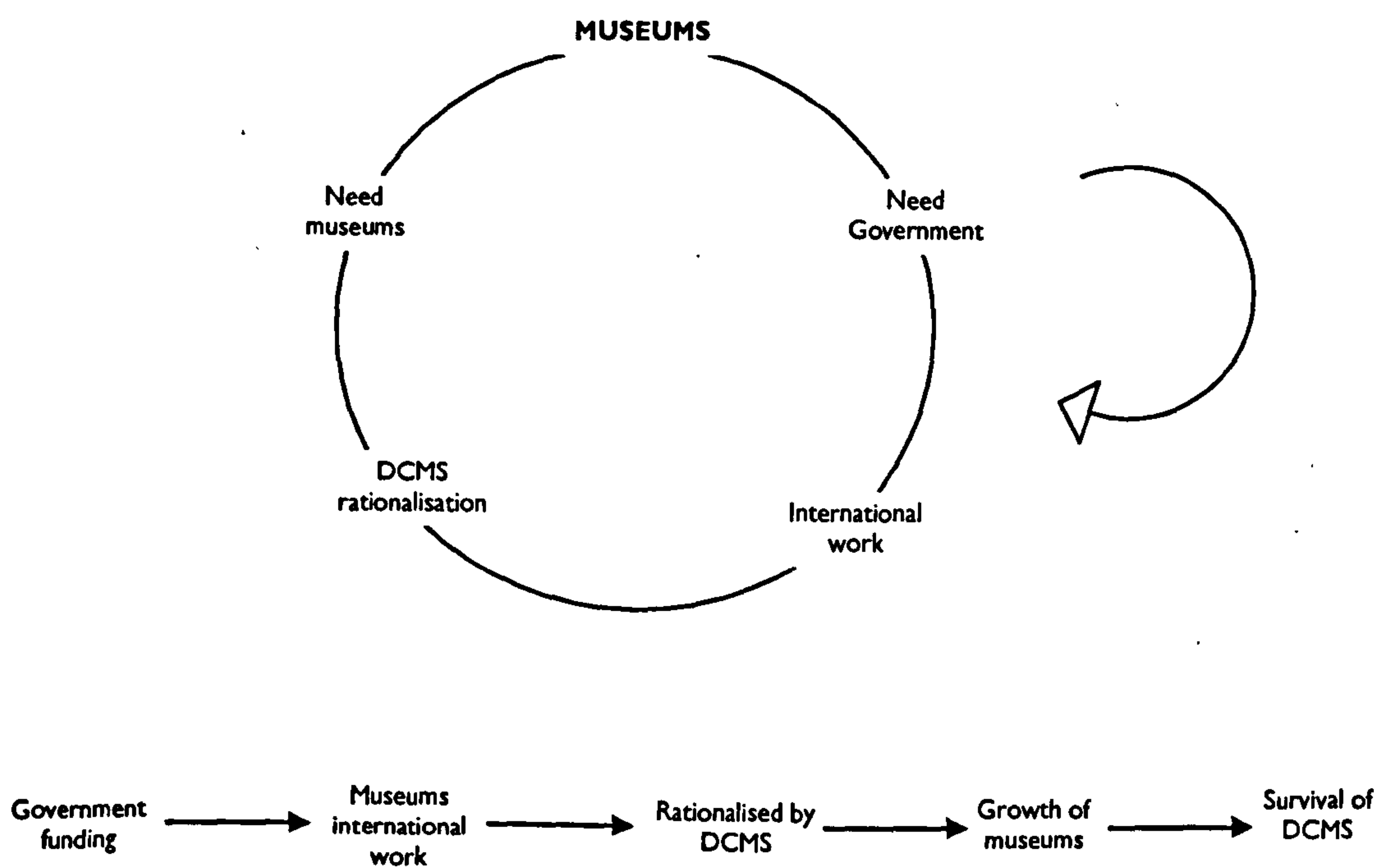
Map 2



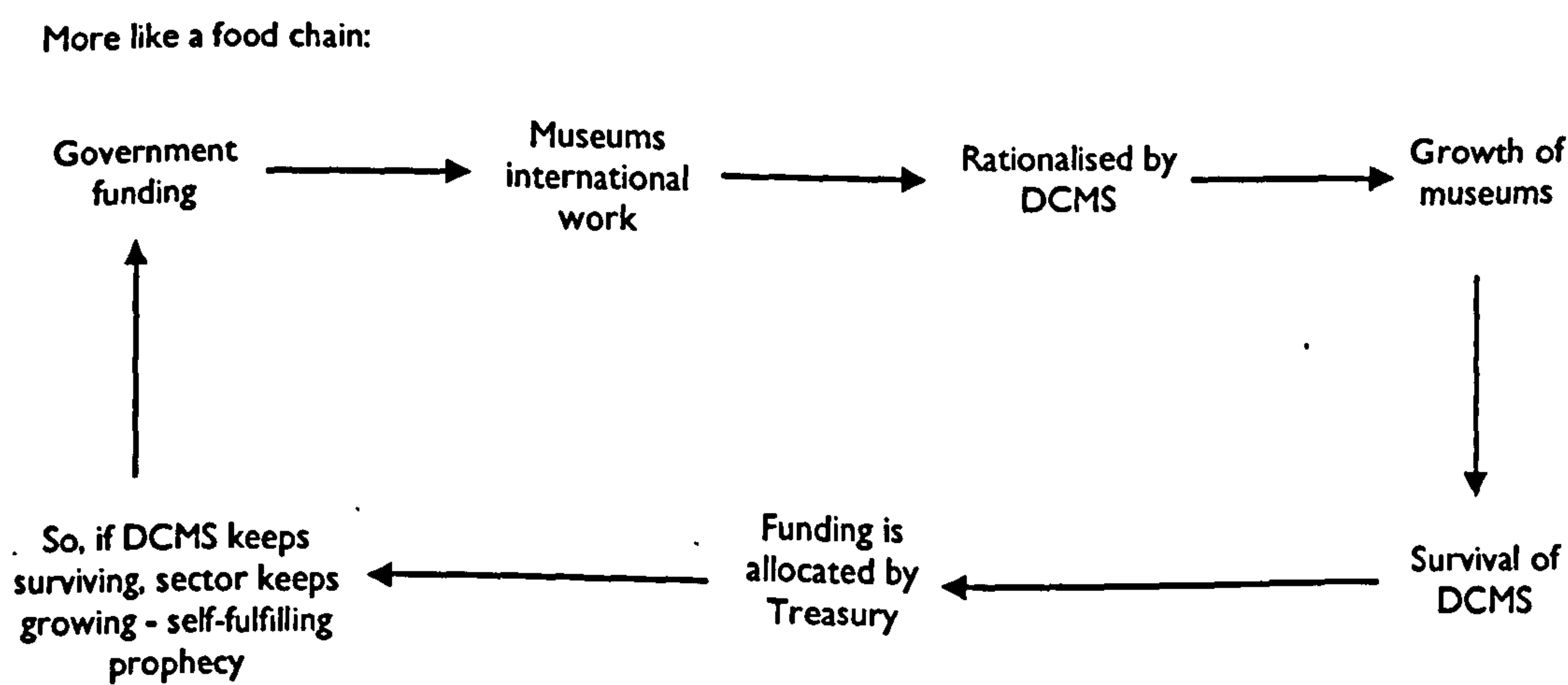
Map 3



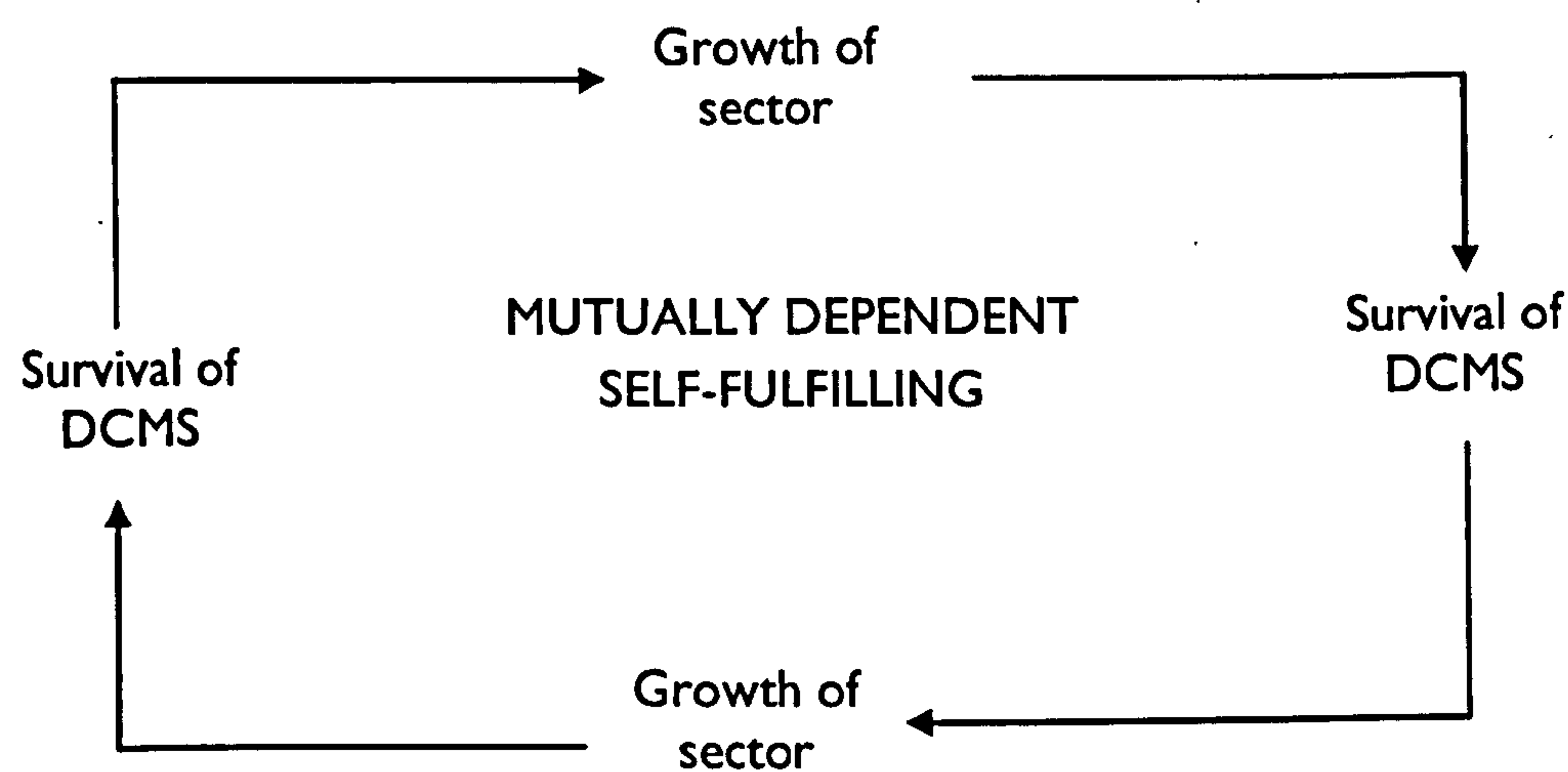
Map 4



Map 5



Map 6



APPENDIX THREE **Selected Workings from the Interview Analysis**

This section documents the process of analysis for the interview data. Essentially, it is a selection from the ongoing memo which was produced throughout the process and includes notes and thematic maps. It is important to state that the analytic material presented here was not created for general display *per se*. As such, this section has not been written as a continuation of the argument. It is written as a verbatim log, so there are characteristic changes in tense, due to the nature of keeping a diary and some of the notes and diagrams may not be self-explanatory as stand alone details. However, this section should be considered in its analytic context.

This memo is dated to provide an audit trail and to track the significant points in the conceptualisation of ideas. The analysis took approximately nine months. Within this, coding took three months and generated over 70 codes. The refinement of ideas took a further six months and included extensive writing.

Each of the fifteen interviews has a separate memo, which have not been included here due to space limitations. These memos led to ideas about the initial codes. As such, this memo begins at the point when the first set of codes had been developed and the coding process was beginning in earnest.

03/12/10

The initial codes began to be formulated informally throughout the data collection. They were also derived from the memos during the transcription process and early thoughts during this time. The informal coding involved roughly annotating the transcripts. The coding formally began upon completion of the final interview transcription. Each transcript was taken in turn in an order which was random but roughly involved one from each of the three groups. Here is the initial codebook:

Code	Colour
No recognition of international strategies	
International policy reflects the existing work of the cultural orgs	
Instrumentalism unproblematic / accepted	
Instrumentalism denied / not recognised / in the past	
Instrumentalism inverted / subverted	
Notion of the individual	
Autonomy	
Policy doesn't happen through documents	
Networks	
Lack of Government 'centre'	

Self-interest	
Power	
Arm's length	
Policy as a stratagem	
Director/leader/name of person	
World Collections Programme / £3m being a small amount	

26/01/10

There is more gradation in the participants' understanding of the policies – it is not simply 'yes' or 'no', but 'a lack of familiarity'; 'they had read it but couldn't speak about it with confidence' and 'they had an awareness of it but nothing further'. There was also a lack of recognition for some. Participants showed nuanced differences in their understanding. It could be thought of as a continuum.

Policy reflects existing practice
YES
Awareness but nothing further
Read it but could not speak with confidence
Lack of familiarity
NO
No recognition

Ideas around ‘trust’, ‘risk’, ‘protection’, ‘vulnerability’ and ‘loyalty’ have arisen. These appear to be related but how?

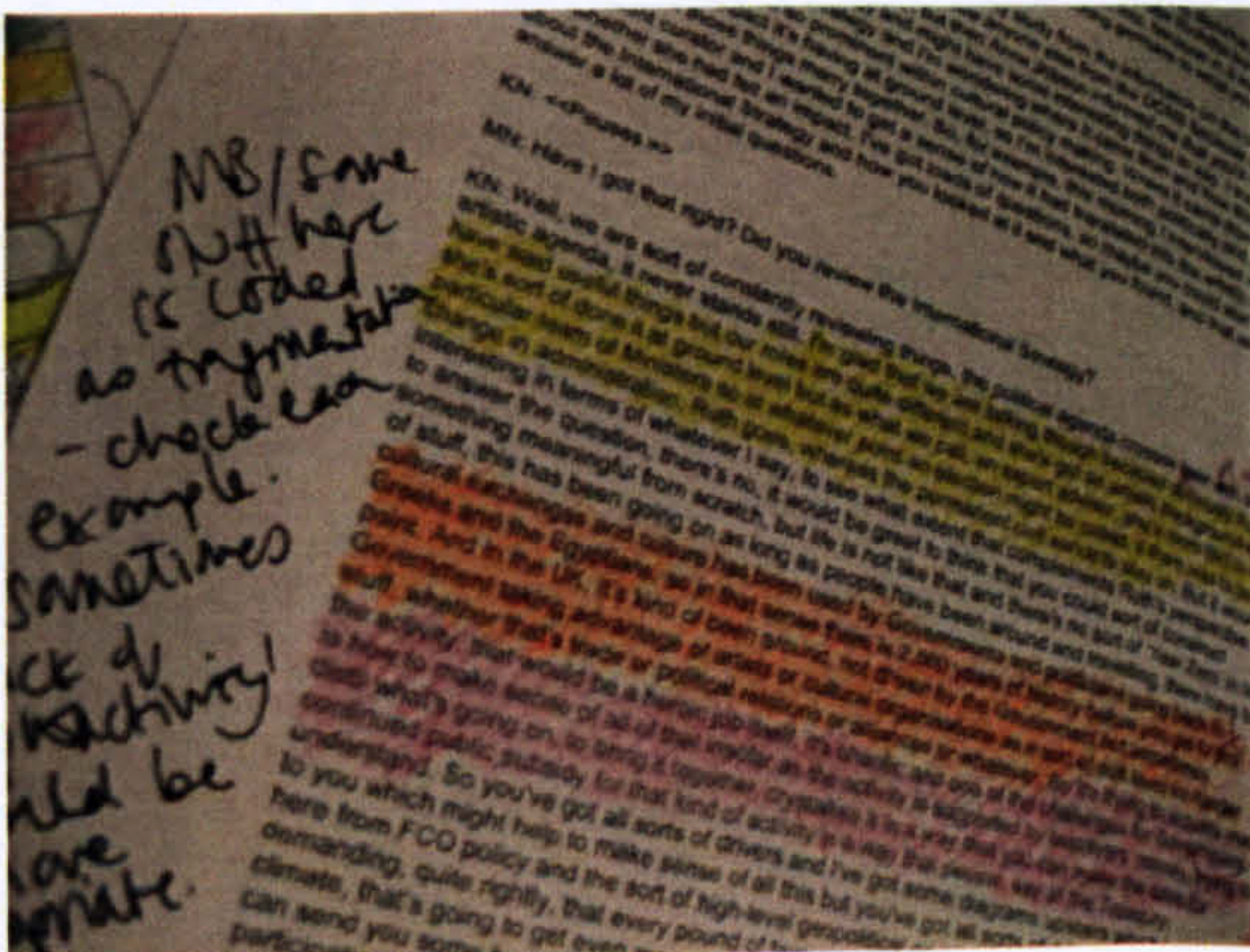
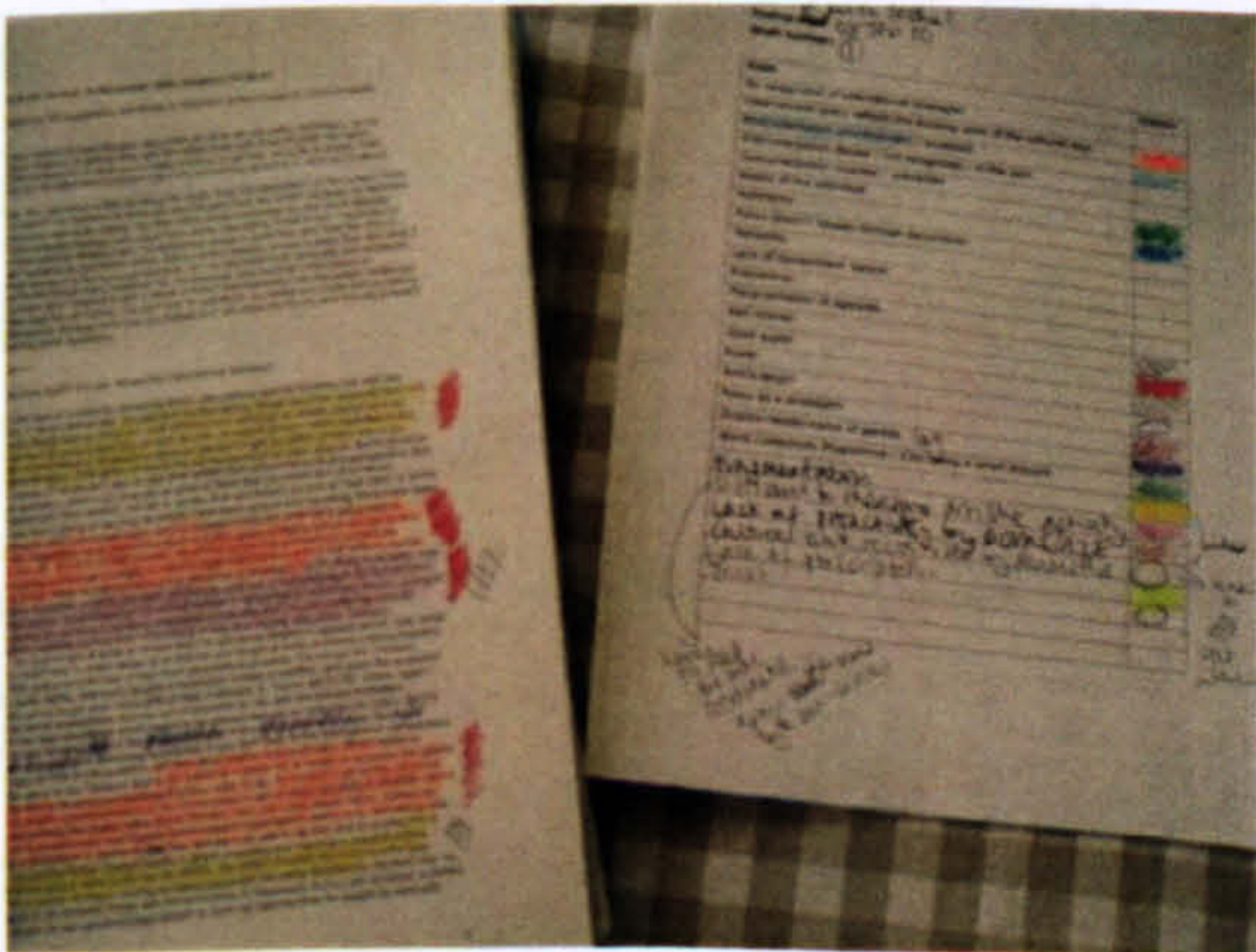
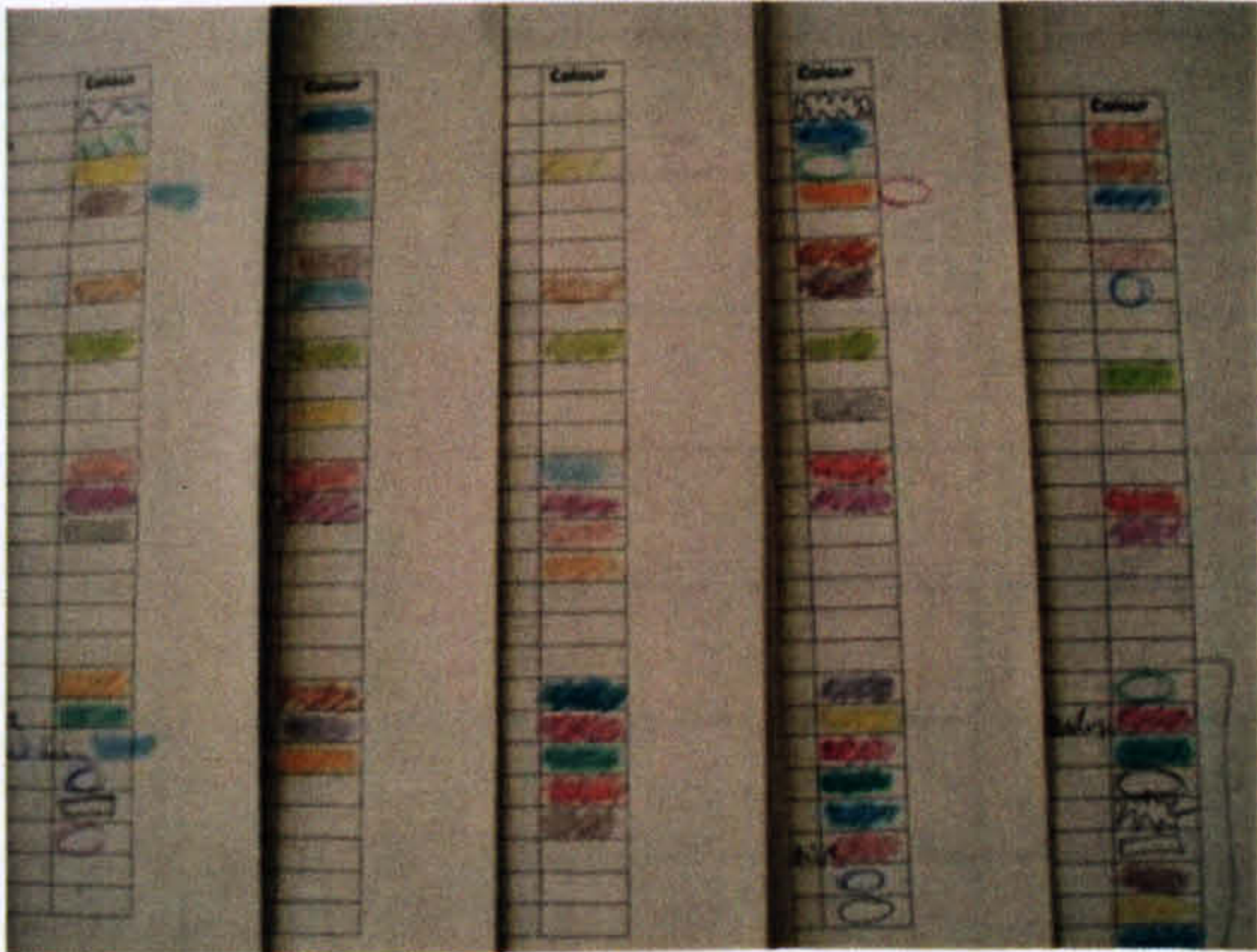
Interviewees saying ‘Government doesn’t tell us what to do’ is not denying instrumentalism, but rather, more about instrumentalism lacking prescription or direction. Think more about this. Should this be ‘lack of prescription’?

Some quotes reflect the ‘marginalisation of agencies’ but I think there is a broader issue concerning ‘fragmentation’ that might be related to ‘networks’? It is because of their strength that they can criticise the agencies and in turn, the agencies have the need to find their place, their ‘unique offering’. This is also related to ‘justification’ – like the DCMS’s calls for greater coordination and the difficulties in evaluation – they are required to justify themselves to ministers and Treasury. The cultural sector can easily justify its role in internationalism – it is firmly rooted in the ethos of the organisations and inherent in their collections – think British Museum and V&A.

30/01/10

From the initial coding phase, it quickly became apparent that on the master codebook, where I’d put down all my initial thoughts, that some of these were higher level codes categories/themes – such as power and self-interest.

At the end of the initial coding, I laid the coding sheets out side by side. Visually, they remind me of DNA structures. This idea of building blocks makes sense too as this is about deconstructing something and putting it back together.

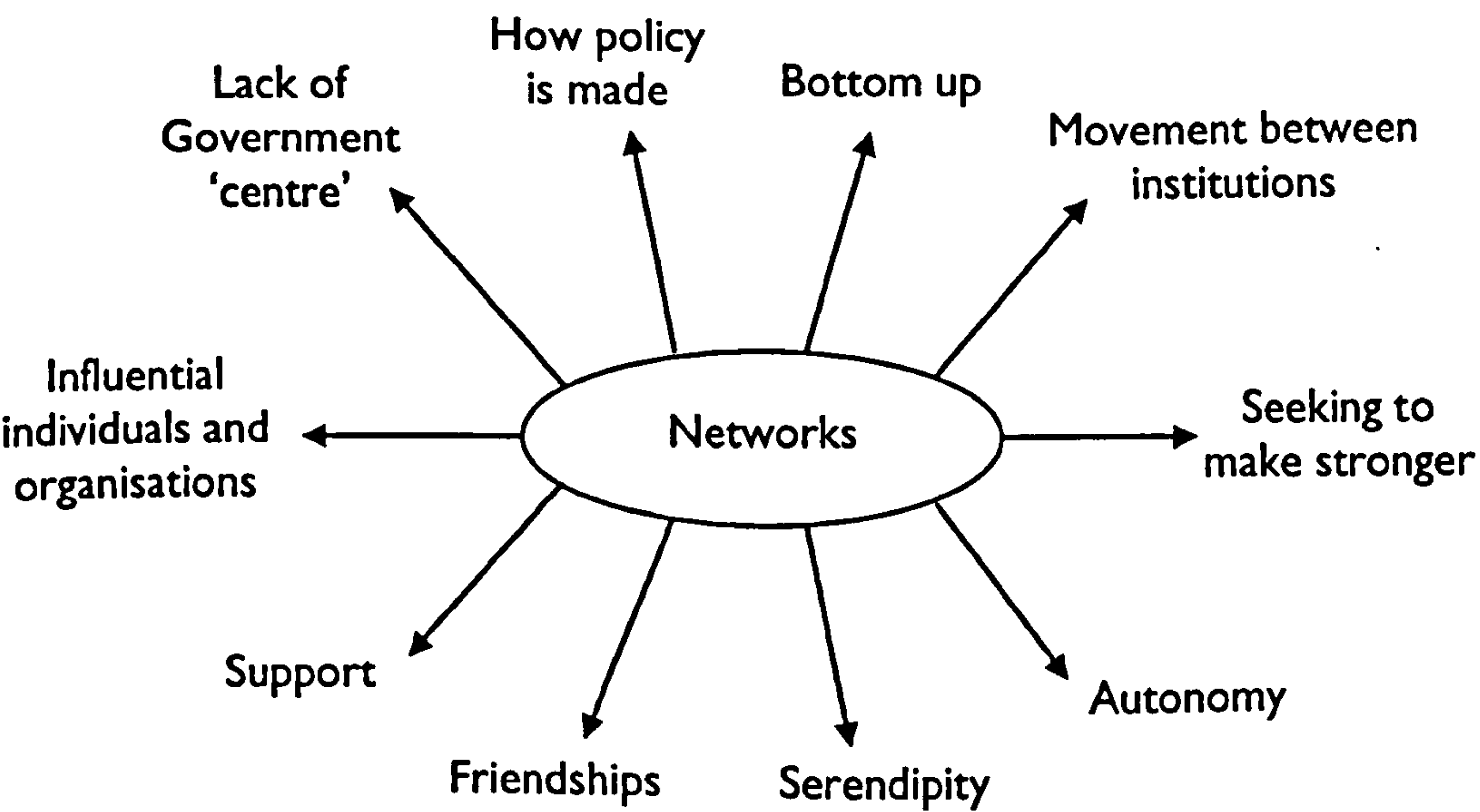


So far, this stage has taken two months. The next stage is to make another master coding sheet for the second coding, to identify and capture the extra codes that arose from the initial reading and coding. All of the additional codes that were noted by hand at the bottom of the coding sheet have formed the basis of the second coding. The transcripts need to be worked through for a second time. In addition, I have put brackets next to the codes which contain the next level theme/category to connect my ideas and assist in organising and further structuring the themes. This shows how my thinking is developing from the first coding. Here is the second coding sheet:

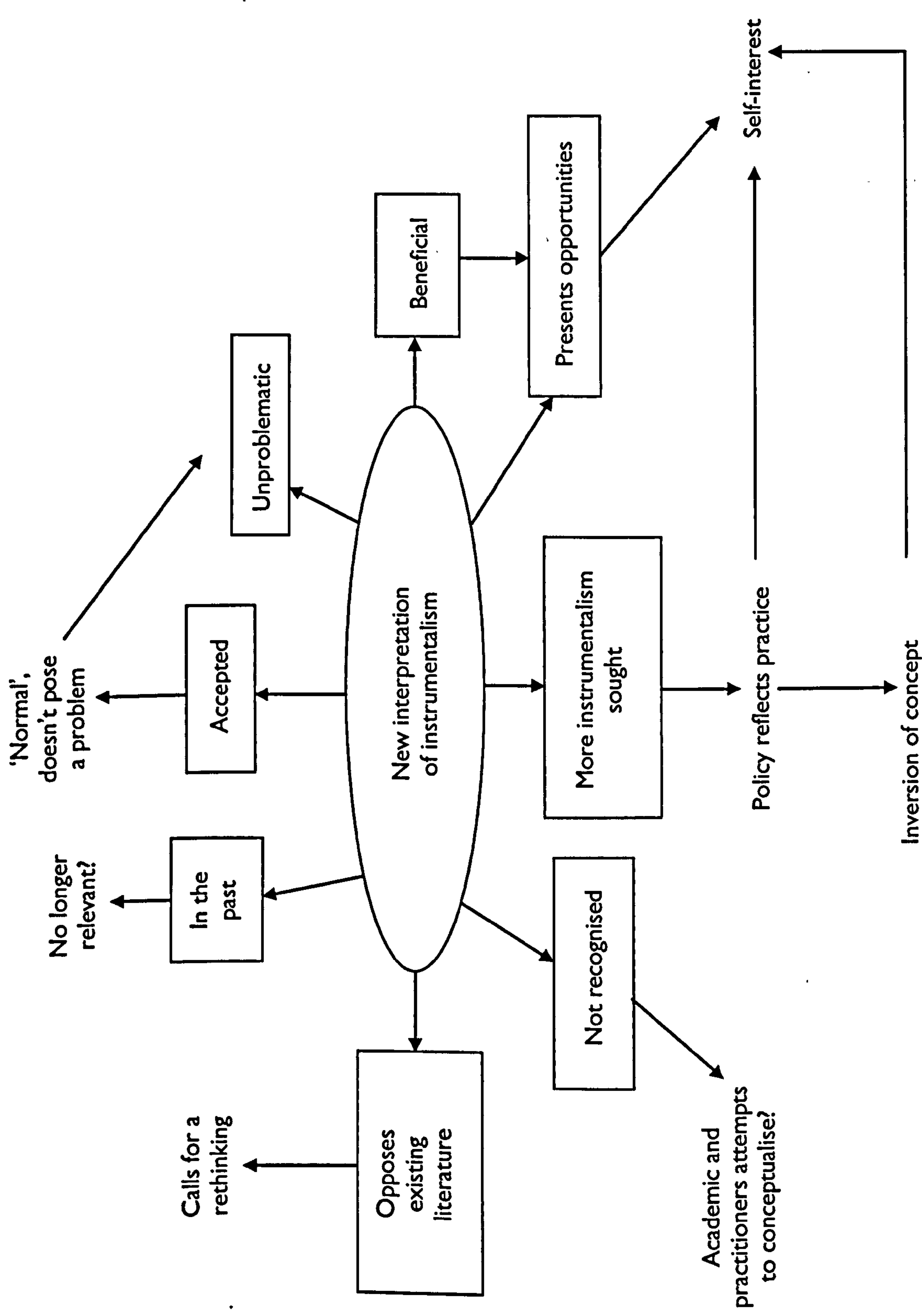
Code	Colour
World Collections Programme (Internationalism exemplified)	
International touring programme (Internationalism exemplified)	
Visa issues (barriers to success)	
Instrumentalism opportunities (instrumentalism inverted)	
Instrumentalism seen as positive/beneficial (instrumentalism inverted)	
Actively seeking greater instrumentalism (instrumentalism inverted)	
Anti-instrumentalism	
Serendipity (networks)	
Lack of policy awareness (self-interest)	
Circumvention of the system (self-interest)	
Interchangeable terminology (definitional issues)	
No recognition of terms (definitional issues)	
Tensions (fragmentation)	
Criticism (fragmentation)	
Lack of clarity (fragmentation)	
Confusion about role/position (fragmentation)	
Greater coordination needed (fragmentation or self-interest)	
Restructuring (fragmentation)	
Loss of confidence (fragmentation)	
Reactive not proactive (fragmentation)	
Movement between institutions (networks)	
Open/non prescriptive/non restrictive (instrumentalism)	
Trust	
Bottom up management (autonomy or networks)	
Rationalising behaviour (justification or self-interest)	

Risk	
Vulnerability	
Cultural work recognised by ministers (self-interest)	
Difficult to measure (self-interest or fragmentation)	
Loyalty	
Protection (networks)	
Support (networks)	
Friendships (networks)	
Moral obligation	
Don't see themselves as part of the system (self-interest)	

Some of these codes are further refinements of the initial codes. The idea of networks is important. This map shows the various elements that have arisen so far.



It was detected early on that instrumentalism is more nuanced than previously thought and has various dimensions such as ‘unproblematic’, ‘accepted’, ‘denied’, ‘not recognised’ and ‘in the past’. There are a number of ways in which the notion of instrumentalism can be inverted. An early attempt at a map for instrumentalism shows how the interview data goes against what the literature says. It also shows how an inversion of the concept has taken place. Using policy as a kind of stratagem enables the traditional concept to be inverted. This is a key strand in the research.



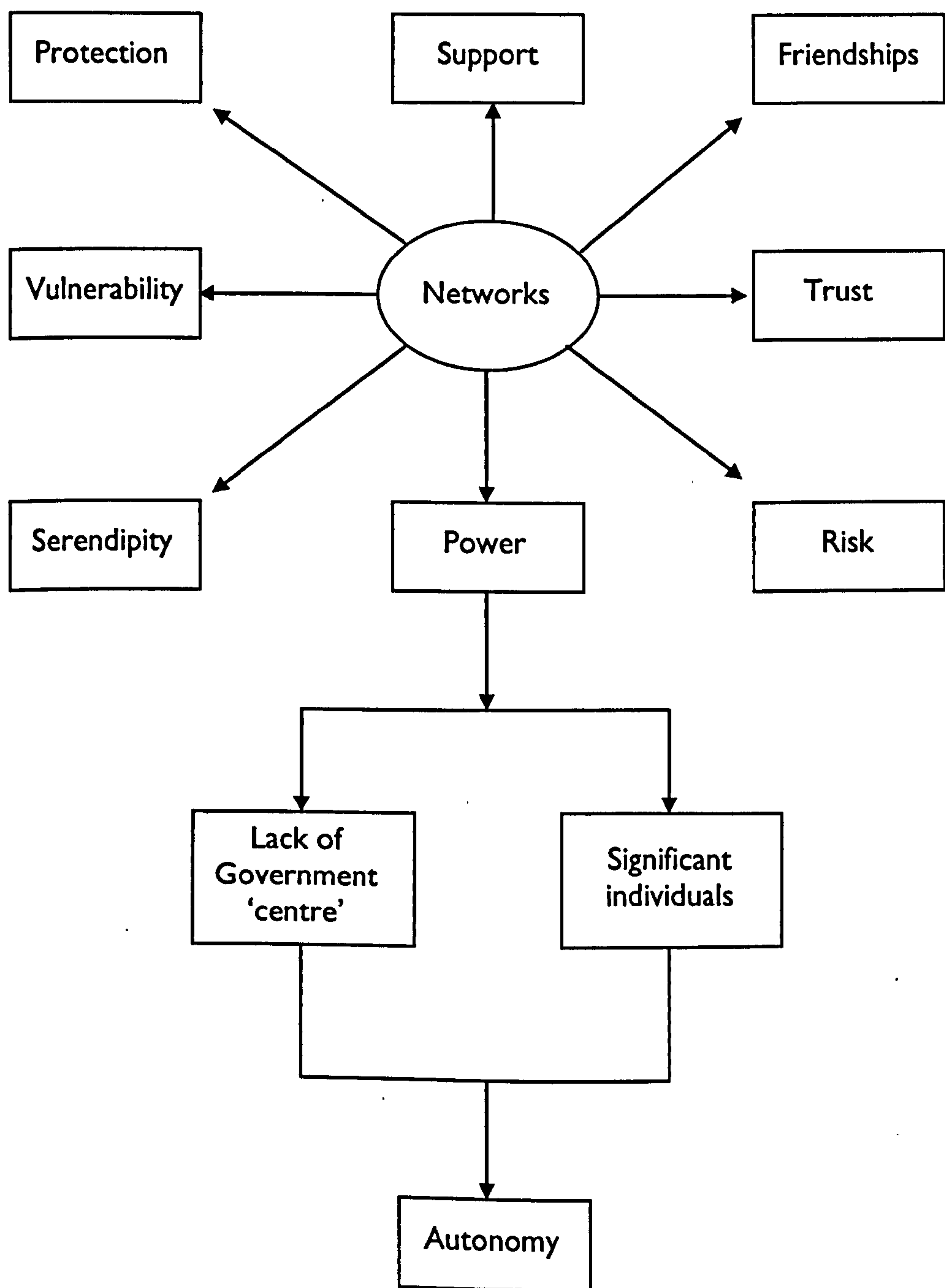
There seems to be links between: restructuring, lack of coordination, confusion about role, lack of clarity and unique offering. Also, not being joined up seems to be an idea that should be coded. Is this anything to do with the difficulties in providing strategic drive and leadership within the DCMS? Or is it to do with the fact that the DCMS cannot provide this because it is essentially led by the cultural sector?

During the second coding phase, further codes arose. The transcripts will be thoroughly read through for a third time. These have been noted on a third codebook:

Code	Colour
Gaining knowledge (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
Expanding collection (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
Manipulation of rhetoric (definitional issues and self-interest)	
Exchange / Reciprocity (Manipulation of rhetoric and definitional issues)	
Commercial interests (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
International loans (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
Unaware of DCMS/WCP evaluation (see themselves as outside of system)	
No joined up approach (barriers to success and need for coordination)	
Actively seeking Government support (self-interest)	
Lack of 'them and us' (networks)	
Require 'permissions' from Government (self-interest)	
Government providing security (Int. exemplified and self-interest)	
Capacity building (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
Enhance artistic practice (self-interest)	
Unique offering (justification and self-interest)	
Different interpretation of terms (definitional issues and self-interest)	
Connections through Culture (Internationalism exemplified/self-interest)	
Artist Links (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	
International residencies (Internationalism exemplified and self-interest)	

26/02/10

I need to think about using NVivo and whether to input everything into the system at this point. NVivo may help me to find more connections within the data. Alternatively, I could undertake the third coding manually. Chas says do not do both.



This diagram is a developed map of the theme 'networks' and the various elements related to it. It is an attempt to show the relationships between significant individuals, power and autonomy, and how the network facilitates this. How do these relate to

each other and are they separate entities? Also, where does 'movement between institutions' fit within this? It is definitely part of 'networks' and is a prominent code.

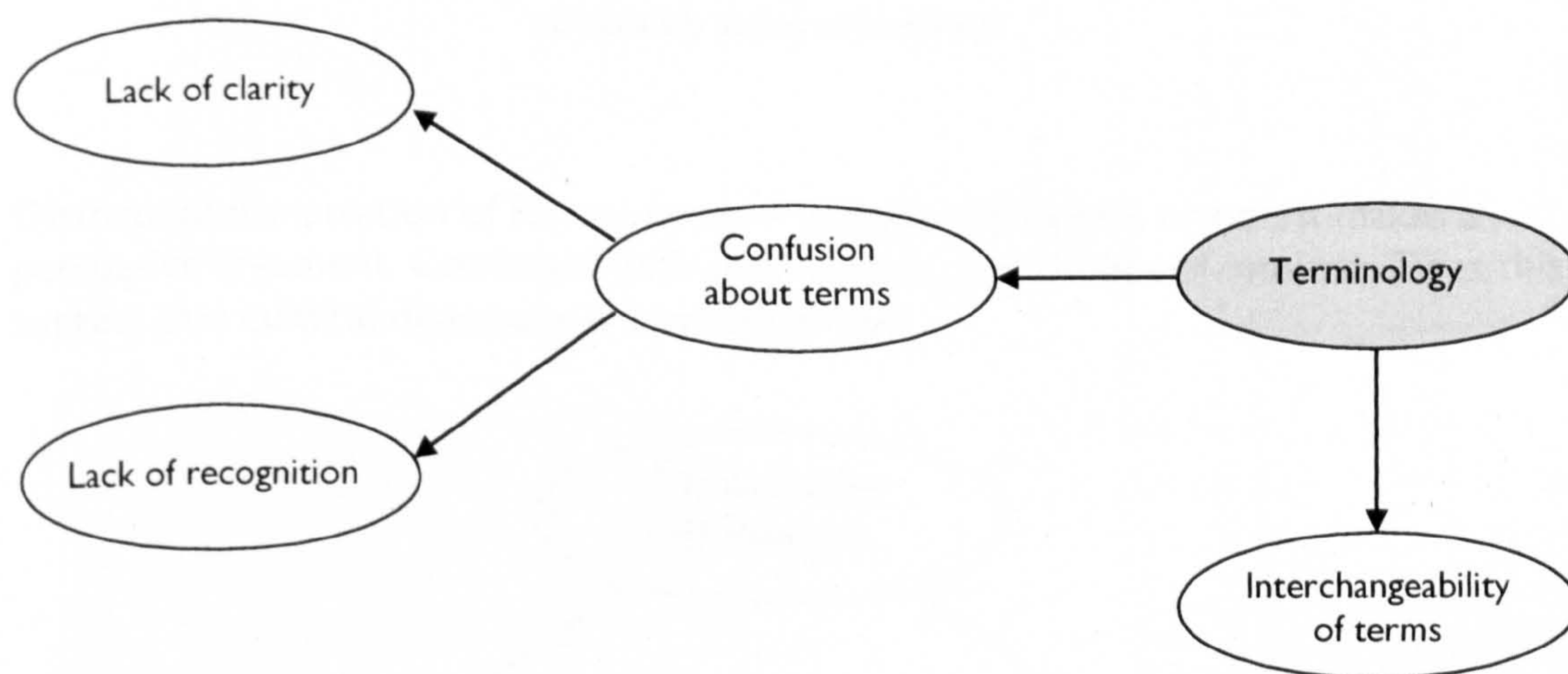
Support, trust, protection, vulnerability, risk, friendships and serendipity recur in the transcripts but only minimally.

03/03/10

When the Government Adviser says that the DCMS's *International Strategy* is 'an exercise', does this suggest that it is something to do with process? The exercise in this case certainly hides the conversations and real policy-making that is going on.

Diagrams always tidy things up. Be mindful of what Kathy said about reducing things too quickly into neat diagrams.

People interpret terms in light of their self-interest – such as cultural diplomacy. As it is deemed to be 'working', does it matter that there is an issue around the use of terminology?



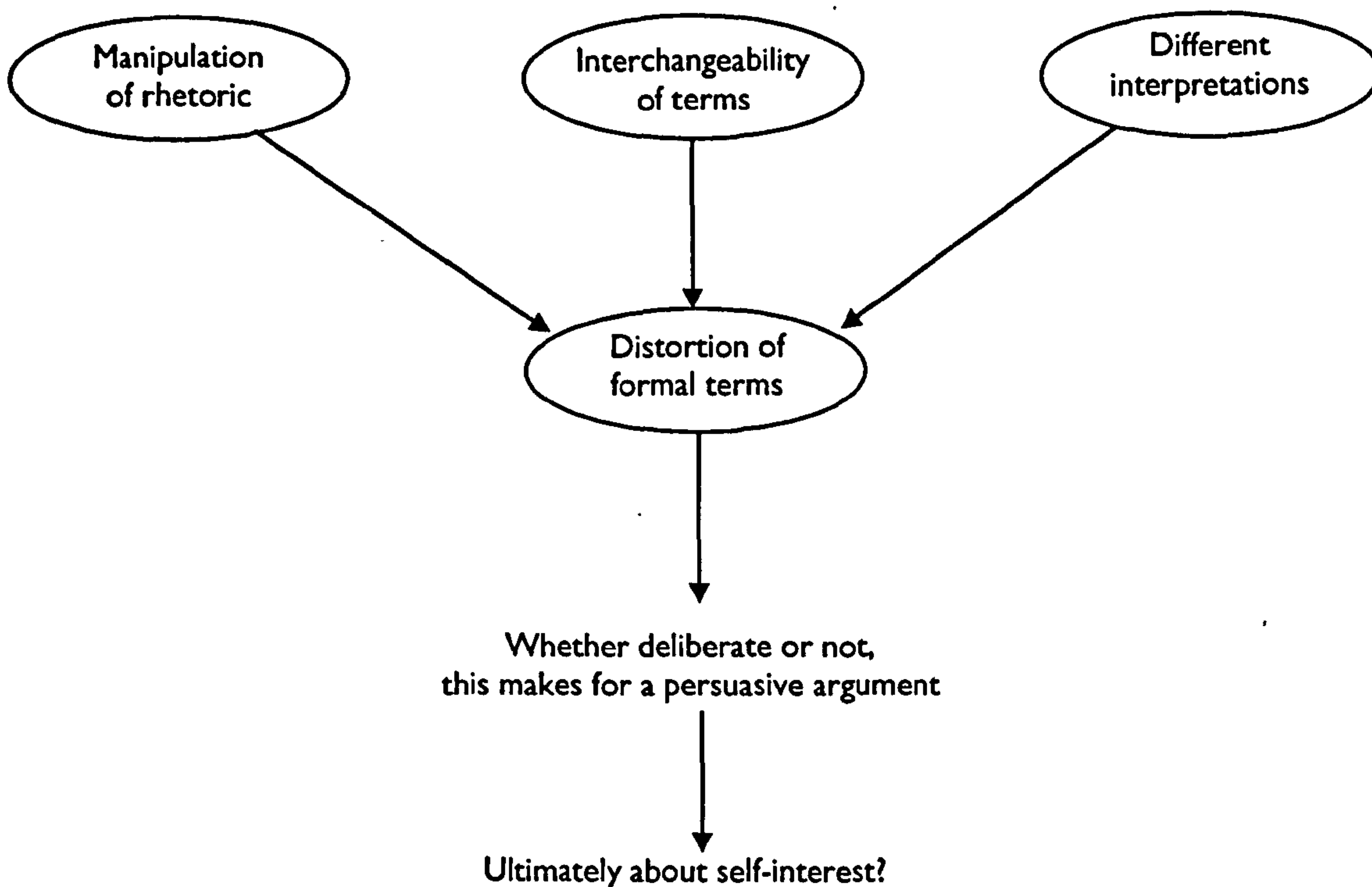
03/03/10 Structuring the codes

Today I organised the current codes into six clusters:

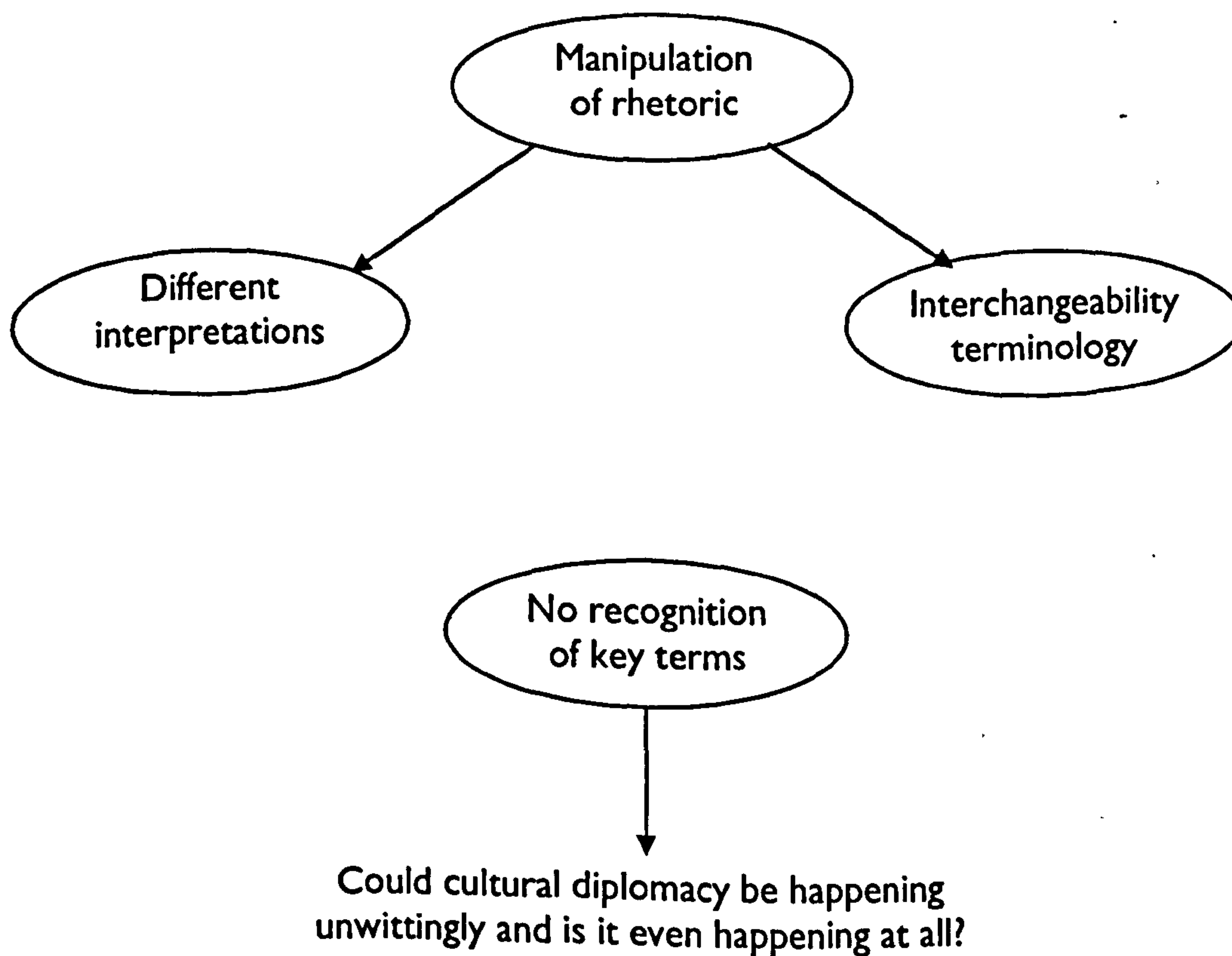
Cluster 1 – Terminology (linked ultimately to self-interest)

- Manipulation of rhetoric
- Exchange/reciprocity
- Different interpretation of terms
- Definitional issues
- No recognition of terms
- Interchangeable terminology

I attempted to map what is going on in relation to terminology and the use, misuse, acceptance and non-use of formal terms.



Distortion/manipulation of formal terms – whether deliberate or not, it makes a persuasive argument. Combined with other points, it is about self-interest. Does this suggest that cultural diplomacy is not happening?



Cluster 2 – Instrumentalism (linked ultimately to self-interest)

- Instrumentalism accepted
- Instrumentalism in the past
- Instrumentalism seen as beneficial
- Instrumentalism not recognised
- Instrumentalism denied
- Anti-instrumentalism (is there enough support for this?)
- Actively seeking greater instrumentalism
- Instrumentalism inverted
- Instrumentalism seen as positive – actively seeking Government support
- Instrumentalism unproblematic
- Instrumentalism opportunities

By inverting the conceptual basis of instrumentalism, the organisations are making it beneficial. They are making it work for them.

Cluster 3 – Internationalism exemplified (linked ultimately to self-interest)

- WCP
- WCP / £3m being a small amount
- Artist Links programme
- International residencies
- International touring programme
- Connections through Culture programme

How significant is cluster three? It shows how these activities are part of everyday practice for arts organisations. The WCP expands the scale and scope of this typical work.

Cluster 4 – Actively seeking Government support (linked ultimately to self-interest) **Why work internationally? Why is Government support needed?**

- Government providing security
- Expanding collection
- International loans
- Permissions
- Commercial interests
- Enhance artistic practice
- Capacity building
- Gaining knowledge

Is this linked to cluster three? This cluster is not quite right. Is this part of cluster two because of things like commercialism? It is not solely what Government support is needed for. Would this be more appropriately labelled as 'benefits of internationalism'?

Cluster 5 – Power

- Bottom up
- International policy reflects existing work – policy as stratagem – policy doesn't happen through documents but through conversations – no recognition of strategies / unfamiliar with strategies
- Policy – non prescriptive / open / non restrictive
- Movement between institutions
- Lack of them and us
- Lack of Government centre
- The individual / name of individuals
- Support, trust, protection / vulnerability, risk / friendships, serendipity – hence why the network is so strong
- Autonomy
- Circumvention of the system
- Allows criticism of agencies / fragmentation – or does this go against the idea of one network?

How does cluster five fit with everything else? Does cluster six fit here because it is due to the power of the cultural sector that it can criticise the DCMS and ACE.

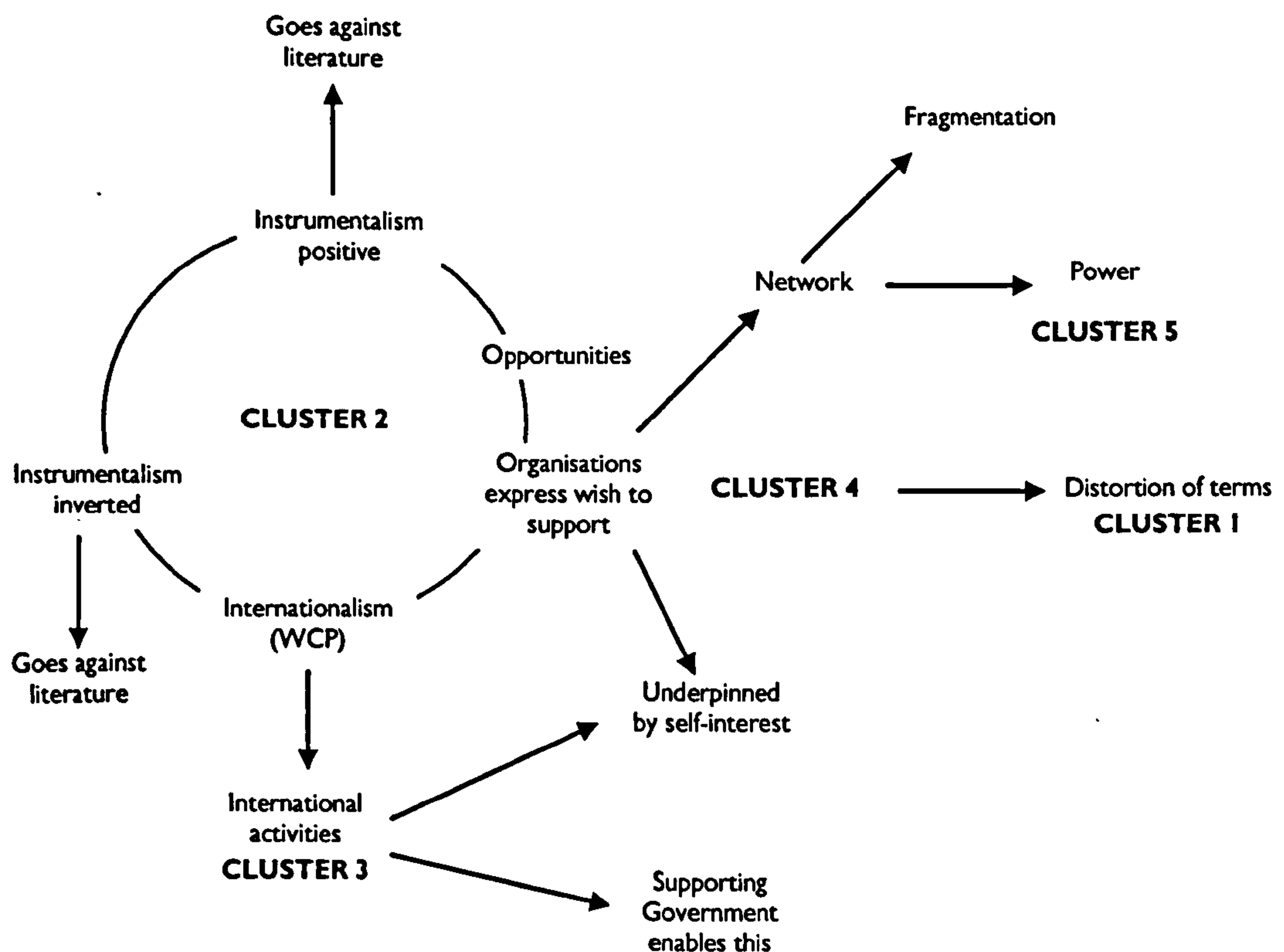
Cluster 6 – Fragmentation

- Criticism – lack of clarity, confusion about role, not joined up, restructuring, reactive not proactive
- Leads to marginalisation of agencies
- Results in having to rationalise and justify
- Results in having to assert their unique offering
- Cultural work recognised by ministers
- Difficult to measure
- Greater coordination needed

Should 'justification' be the title of this cluster? Do cultural organisations criticise as a method of self-justification? How does power fit into all of this? Think about fragmentation – is it more between ACE and DCMS than cultural organisations to ACE / DCMS? If so, does this relate to the sector being capable of justification but the agencies not? All of these codes come up within the transcripts but is there enough support for them across the whole data set?

12/03/10

I worked out a map to show how all the other clusters stem from instrumentalism (cluster 2). This places instrumentalism as the central cyclical concept whereas other options could focus on power and self-interest as the main driver, or networks as the central theme to which others extend from. I need to think about this.



General thoughts:

- All six clusters are essentially about survival and self-interest.
- Policy doesn't happen through documents, but rather through interaction.
- International policy reflects current work.
- This complements exactly what the document analysis found.
- The use of power to accomplish organisational and individual goals.

Where does 'fragmentation' fit into this? Is this the correct word? And is there enough support for it? 'Fragmentation' was used alongside 'tensions' at this stage. I decided to break this down into classifications such as 'lack of clarity' in order to input the codes into NVivo.

14/03/10 Third coding

After a period of thinking, mapping and trying to categorise and impose some order and structure to the themes, I now need to undertake a third reading of the transcripts to perform a third coding. Up to this point, I have been wondering whether to do this manually, as the method to date has been so fruitful, or whether to undertake this using NVivo. I am reluctant to move to NVivo as so much progress is being made using a manual method. NVivo advocates the elimination of any manual coding, but I find that it allows an unparalleled absorption in and engagement with the data. I find the highly visual and physical element of the task productive in connecting with the data. The manual process seems to suit my style of working. NVivo does not offer the same visual immediacy as the coded areas are not visible on screen, whereas the allocation of codes within the manual method is clear and immediate. However, the issue here is whether NVivo may offer an analytical depth that cannot be achieved

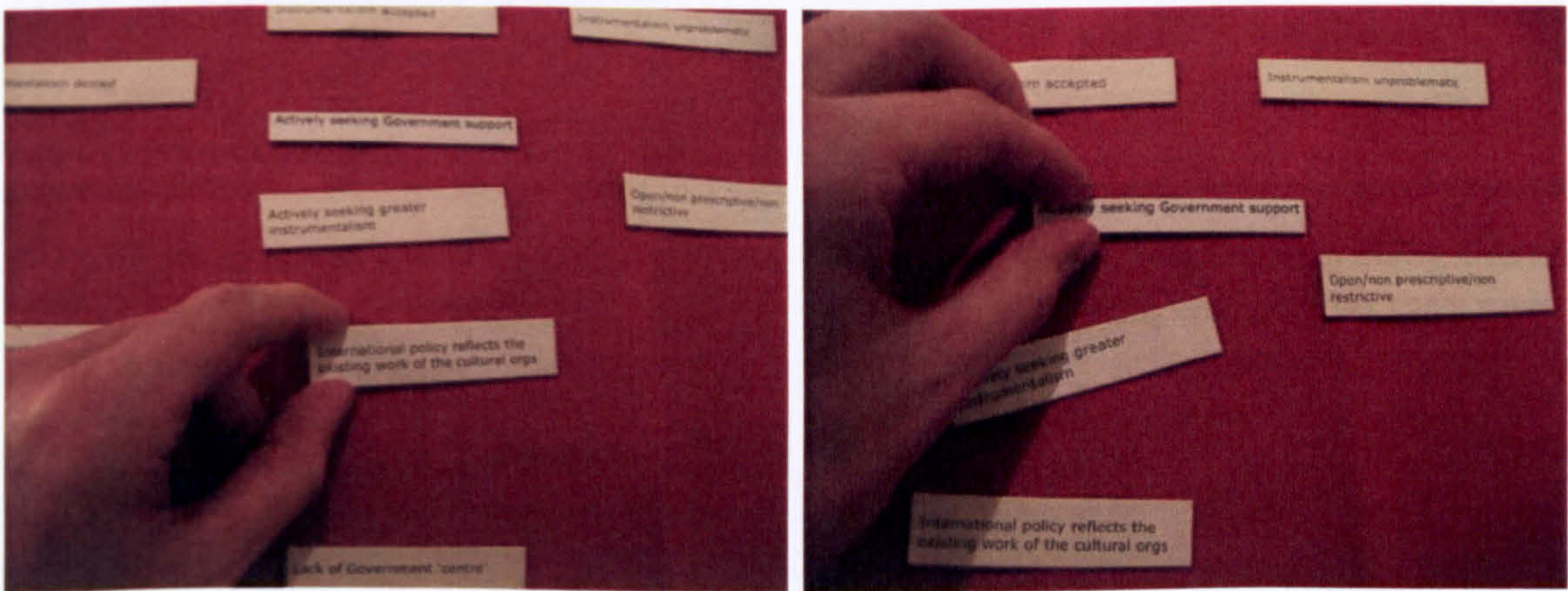
any further through the manual process. I will use NVivo in an attempt to add further analytic depth as well as to apply the theoretical learning from the training course to my data. It is a good opportunity to try and test out the software properly for myself.

15/03/10 – 22/03/10

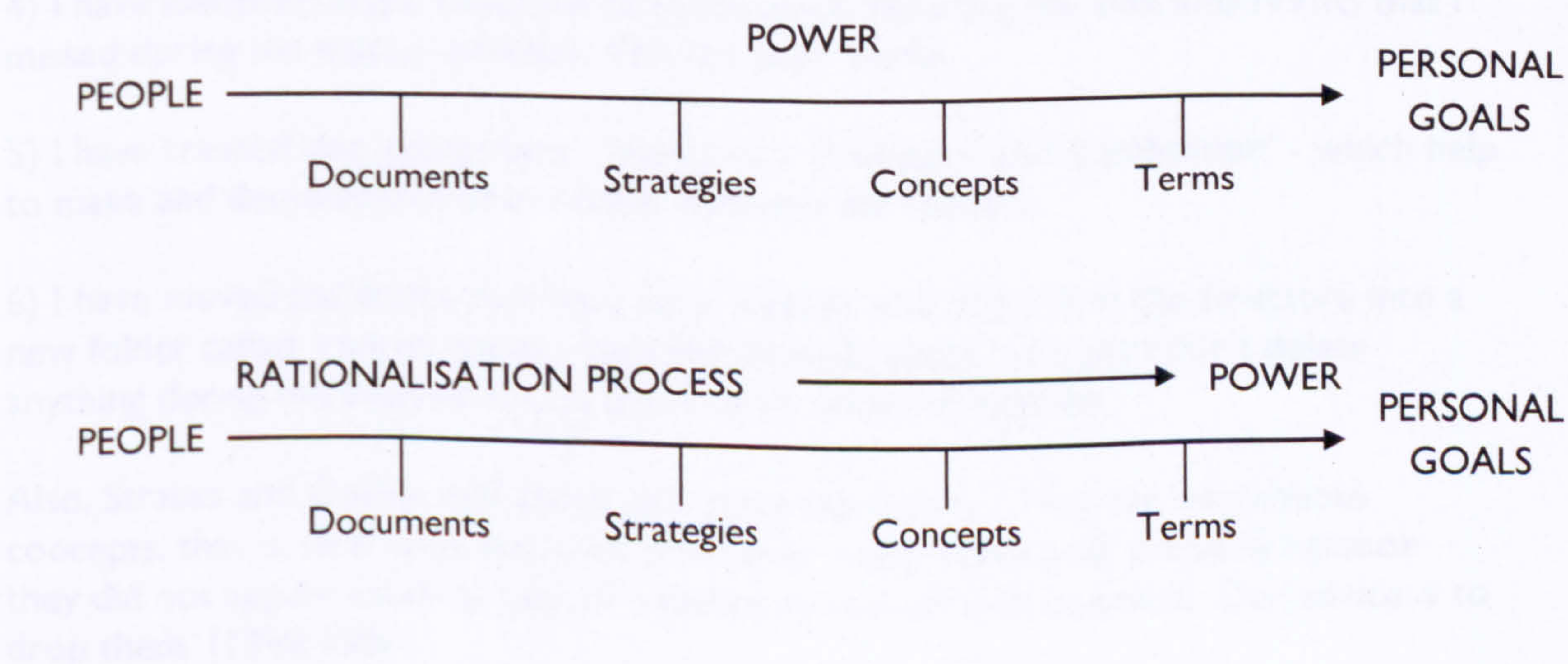
I spent this week putting all the data into NVivo and coding it. In order to do this, I had to set up NVivo with the cluster structures. This process made me rethink the structures which resulted in combining and refining codes, and abandoning others.

In order to do this, interestingly, I went back to manual working. I produced ‘cut outs’ of each code, which are basically pieces of card with the individual codes printed on them which can be physically laid out to map the codes and try out a variety of structures and configurations. As they were ‘cut outs’, they enabled easy assembly and rearrangement, and facilitated the classification procedure. This further turned the analysis into a physical process, taking it beyond a cognitive exercise and enabling a higher degree of engagement.

This was a highly creative stage in the research which took in exploration and intuition, and was underpinned by continuous writing. These photographs show some of this process.



Quick map to capture an idea



The new structures were then inputted into NVivo over a number of days and the transcripts were imported and coded. From the NVivo inputting, I noted a number of thoughts:

- 'Unique offering' is part of rationalising behaviour.
- It is serendipitous that internationalism is closely aligned with the natural work of the cultural organisations.
- 'Individual's name' and 'individual's organisation' should be subsumed into 'the notion of the individual'. Perhaps I could change the name of this code to 'name of person or organisation'?
- The WCP is believed to belong to Neil MacGregor. Certain phrases suggest this such as 'our cultural ambassador' and statements such as MacGregor using 'the fund at his discretion'. These are interesting choices of words and show how influential he is.
- All interviewees rationalise and justify their behaviour including the cultural organisations which rationalise use it to assert their power. See the interview with the person from Tate for numerous examples.
- 'Policy as a stratagem' and 'policy not happening through documents' are related.

27/03/10 – More NVivo thoughts

1) In NVivo, I've set up a sub-group in each code entitled 'good quote' to capture relevant quotes and make it easier for writing up.

2) I was going to set up all the codes that are not yet assigned to an overarching theme as 'free nodes'. However, if I do this then I cannot assign quotes to them, so they need to be set up as 'tree nodes'. So for now they are all in one code called 'unclustered codes'.

3) I have stopped coding for 'self-interest' as a general category as I have realised that everything is actually self-interest and that the category can be broken down into loads of sub-categories, all underpinned by self-interest. The same has occurred with the code 'power'.

4) I have identified more instances of codes when inputting the data into NVivo that I missed during the manual process. This has been useful.

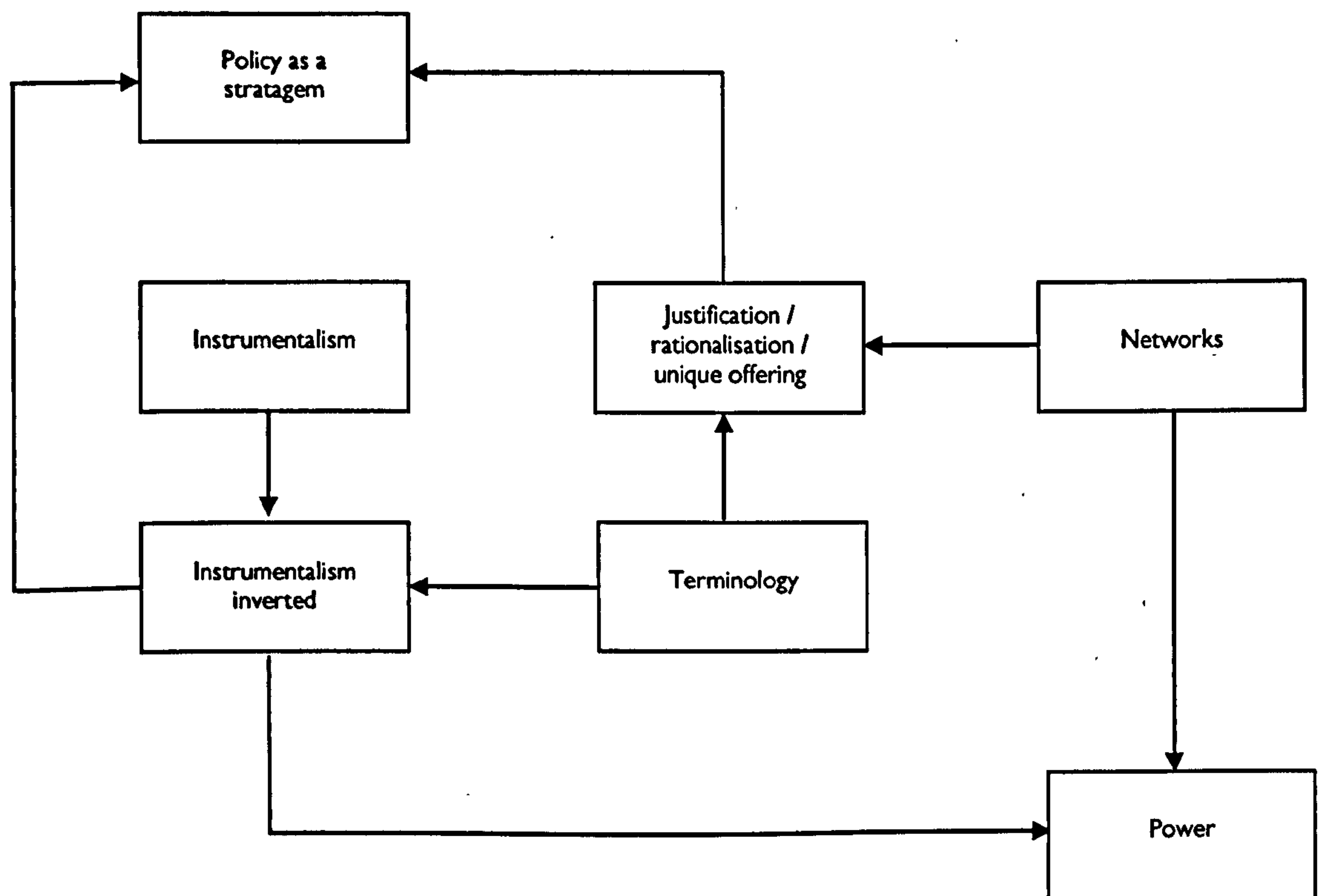
5) I have created two sub-groups - 'policy as a stratagem' and 'justification' - which help to make and demonstrate connections between the clusters.

6) I have moved the codes that have little support and don't fit in the structure into a new folder called 'retired codes'. I got this from Boyatzis, who says don't delete anything during the analysis as you don't know what will happen.

Also, Strauss and Corbin talk about 'trimming the theory'. They say 'extraneous concepts, that is, nice ideas but ones that never were developed, probably because they did not appear much in data or seemed to trail off into nowhere. Our advice is to drop them' (1998:158).

7) I have also renamed some of the codes to more accurately reflect the groupings.

8) During this data inputting process, more mapping was undertaken. I have attempted a broader map to show how the themes relate to each other.



01/04/10 – Analysis

Coding stages one and two have now been inputted and coded in NVivo. During this process, the transcripts were coded a third time. As well as adding to the identification of the total codes, two new categories emerged. The map above captures this. I have created a map that I am fairly happy with but what next? Now I will go through all of the memos from each interview and create a list of questions for further exploration.

02/04/10

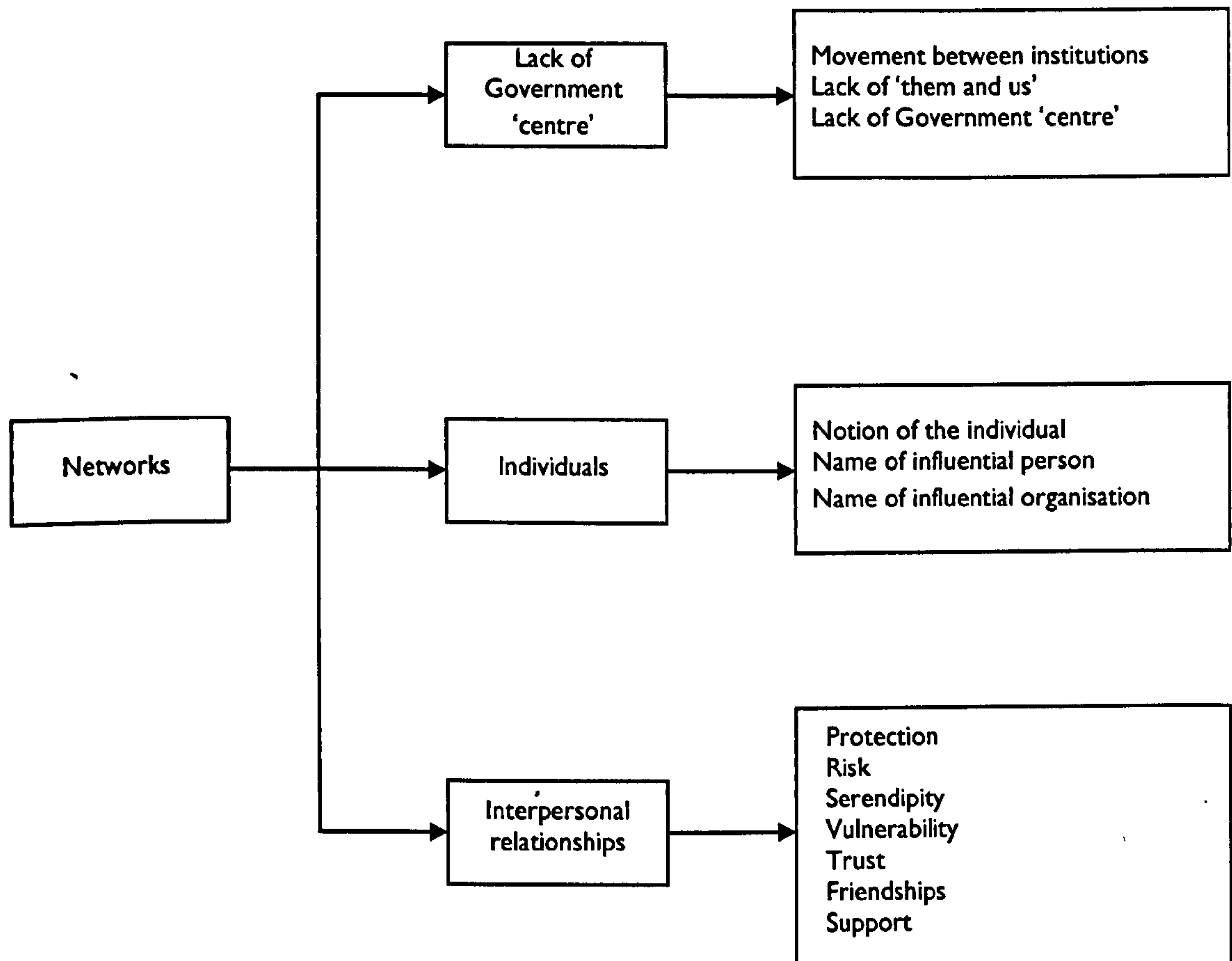
After four memos, this is not offering any additional points. Abandon this task.

03/04/10

I've spent a whole week inputting stuff into NVivo but apart from identifying some extra codes, what has it offered me? I've spent half a day running queries but they haven't come up with anything significant. This doesn't justify the time spent. I am still pondering a further coding phase. Chas said not to do it but the idea of a 'unique offering' is something that I want to explore further as this might relate to the document analysis.

04/04/10 – Restructuring and merging the codes

'Lack of them and us' and 'movement between institutions' need to be put into a category together called 'lack of Government centre'.



'Friendships', 'vulnerability', 'support', 'protection', 'risk', 'serendipity' and 'trust' have been put into one category called 'interpersonal relationships'.

'Confusion about role', 'lack of clarity', 'reactive not proactive', 'restructuring', 'criticism', 'no joined up approach' and 'loss of confidence' have all gone into one category called 'marginalisation'.

'Notion of the individual' and 'individual's name/organisation' have been put into one category called 'individual influence'.

'Individual influence', 'interpersonal relationships' and 'lack of Government centre' have all been moved into one category called 'networks'.

'Rationalising' and 'unique offering' have gone into one category called 'justification'.

'Circumvention of the system' has been moved into 'instrumentalism'. It may then need to be restructured into 'instrumentalism unproblematic' then 'circumvention of the system', but leave it here for now.

'Policy doesn't happen through documents', 'no recognition of international strategies', 'lack of policy awareness' and 'unawareness of DCMS/World Collections Programme evaluation' have all gone into a category called 'policy as a stratagem' and combine this code with it.

Move 'international policy reflects existing work' into 'instrumentalism'. Again, the instrumentalism theme will require greater structure. This will come later.

I need to put 'cultural work recognised by ministers', 'greater coordination needed' and 'difficult to measure' into 'justification'.

What was called 'fragmentation' has now turned back into 'marginalisation'.

'Actively seeking Government support' contains 'Government providing security' and 'requires permissions from Government'. These need to be moved into 'instrumentalism'.

The agencies are marginalising themselves or rather being critical, stating flaws and rationalising in an attempt to do better.

The structure in NVivo now looks very different.

12/04/10 – Thoughts

[NVivo - running a report – tools – reports – node summary]

This gave a summary of the nodes – how many sources are coded to it, how many interviews are involved, how many words are coded to that node. This was useful to see how prominent things like 'networks' were - a whopping 9550 words, 15 sources (all interviewees), 131 paragraphs, 130 instances of it.

Similarly, 'notion of the individual' - 3499 words, 42 paragraphs, 13 sources and 46 instances. I have exported this as a Word document to my desktop. I may use this in the thesis. Whilst I am not doing quantitative analysis, all of these tables and charts help to identify patterns and see which codes are the most prominent and so on. Like in the document analysis, the quick initial number scan of the data was helpful as a starting point for the same reasons. The codes with low figures do not necessarily mean that they are less important. The reason for their low number may simply be that the category has been subdivided a lot, like instrumentalism, for example. It is all about how the codes make sense in relation to the other codes and in telling a story, painting a rich picture. The only thing is that the report is dynamic, and so are the queries and charts, so if I add or change anything I will need to update the charts and tables.

12/04/10 – Reflections on NVivo

Did it add value?

I don't think that I got value from the software in the sense that it gave me something that I wouldn't have got through doing it manually. However, the process of putting the data into the software and coding it meant that I was forced to think about the structure and make decisions about grouping that the codes. So the process of inputting was helpful. Also, by structuring it in a way so that all of the good quotes for each code are grouped together, this will help with the writing up. In retrospect, I spent a whole week on data inputting and I could have done a third coding manually in that time that may have been more fruitful.

Ran a compound query for 'trust and risk', and 'trust near risk' - it brought up no results except for one paragraph in an interview with an artist.

28/04/10

When writing up, I noticed that 'instrumentalism unproblematic' consisted of 'open' and 'circumvention of the system', so these became the sub-categories. This is an example of how writing up is crucial to the analytical process. Also, the things coded as unproblematic no longer seem to fit so well. So, when discussing in the findings about instrumentalism being unproblematic I should use these two sub-headings instead.

Does 'not seeing themselves as part of the system' help them to justify 'circumventing' it? Is this how it might fit?

02/05/10

I had just started to write up the different sections, such as 'instrumentalism', but because it touches upon so many other points, such as 'lack of them and us', should I write it up as a case study and bring in these things as and when required? I suppose this will help it not to read like a list of quotes. This also makes sense in relation to what Chas was saying about it being about policy and its making. Maybe I should go back to the original map that put instrumentalism at the heart of the discussion?

After my meeting with Chas, I decided to put 'policy' at the centre of the map, as it is essentially about the policy-making process and uses of cultural diplomacy and internationalism as a case study. The analysis and interpretation now becomes slightly different.

Thinking about my last meeting with Chas and the discussion and my last meeting with Linda and her theories about strong and weak organisations - Linda's stuff fits with the idea of policy as a stratagem and as unique offerings - trying to do better, be more coordinated to enhance their performance or the perception of the performance.

07/05/10

Today I attended Sally Bradley's presentation, which was interesting. She was asking whether her research was grounded theory, merely influenced by grounded theory or beyond comparison with the tenets of grounded theory? I need to read her paper.

11/05/10

I have realised that cultural diplomacy and internationalism is a case study for a wider discussion about policy. What began as the focus of my research has shifted. It is becoming less and less about cultural diplomacy. The term cultural diplomacy appears

to be merely used as a rhetorical device to lever funding so that museums can increase the scale and scope of the international work that they already do - and that the DCMS also uses the term to convince the Foreign Office and the Treasury that it is doing 'proper' Government work - and that the terms cultural diplomacy and cultural relations are used in ways that do not reflect the conventional definitions.

Because of this, cultural diplomacy is now a case which is used to examine how policy is made, discussed, implemented, evaluated and so on. Because there is no real link between cultural diplomacy and internationalism, its role in the study has further diminished. Can I make the point that internationalism here is so detached from any wider notion of international relations and diplomacy?

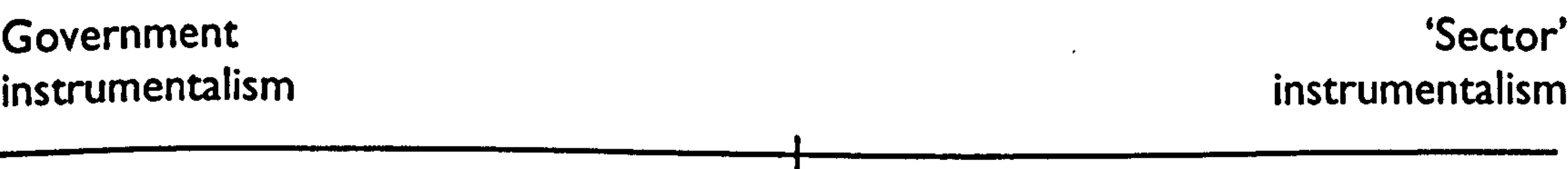
28/05/10

Today I read *Hip versus Stately: The Tao Of Two Museums* from the New York Times, 20 Feb 2000 - Philippe de Montebello from the Met in New York seems to be in the minority about his museum and the purity of the work. This interview with him and Thomas Krens from the Guggenheim is good to set out the context for commercialism. Montebello's quote is perfect – he has 'an unwavering belief in the primacy of the experience of art over that of 'museums as agora', mindful of Hector's exhortation in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*: 'Tis mad idolatry to make the service greater than the God'.

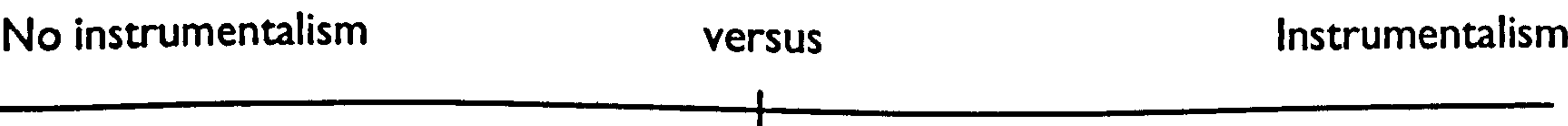
But the difference here is that the service (commercial aspects) is vital for the art (and organisation) to survive.

03/06/10

I've been exploring the idea of whether instrumentalism should be based on a continuum. If so, where does inverted instrumentalism sit? For example:



Should it be something like:

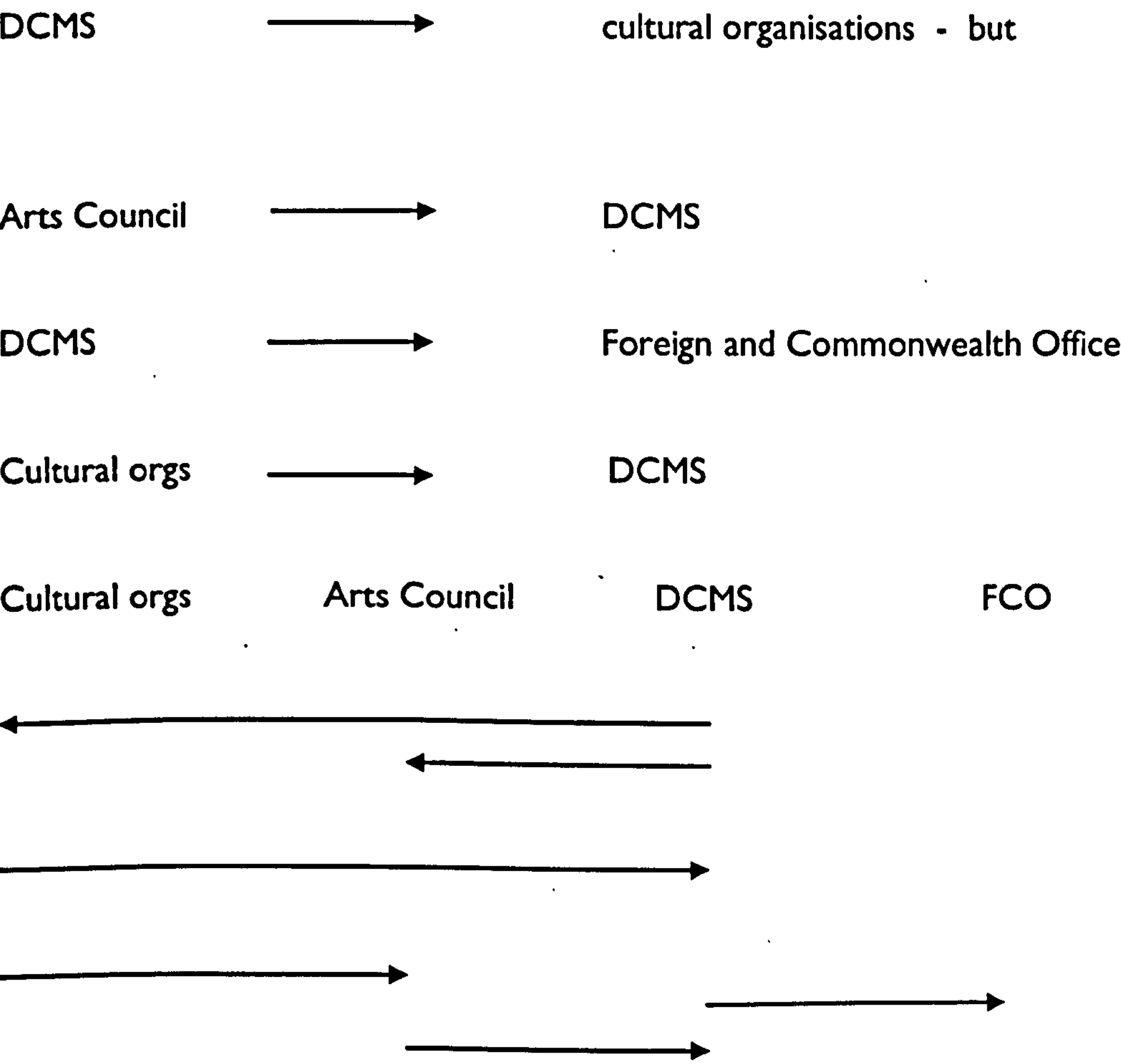


But there is no such thing as no instrumentalism - everything is instrumental in some way – remember the Gray quote here. I don't think this will work.

Or maybe what I'm describing is not instrumentalism at all due to the complexities of the case and the differences with the traditional understanding of instrumentalism. It doesn't resemble what has come before – is this even instrumentalism?

14/06/10

My document analysis also showed the instrumentalism goes all the way along the chain of command and in both directions, so not just:



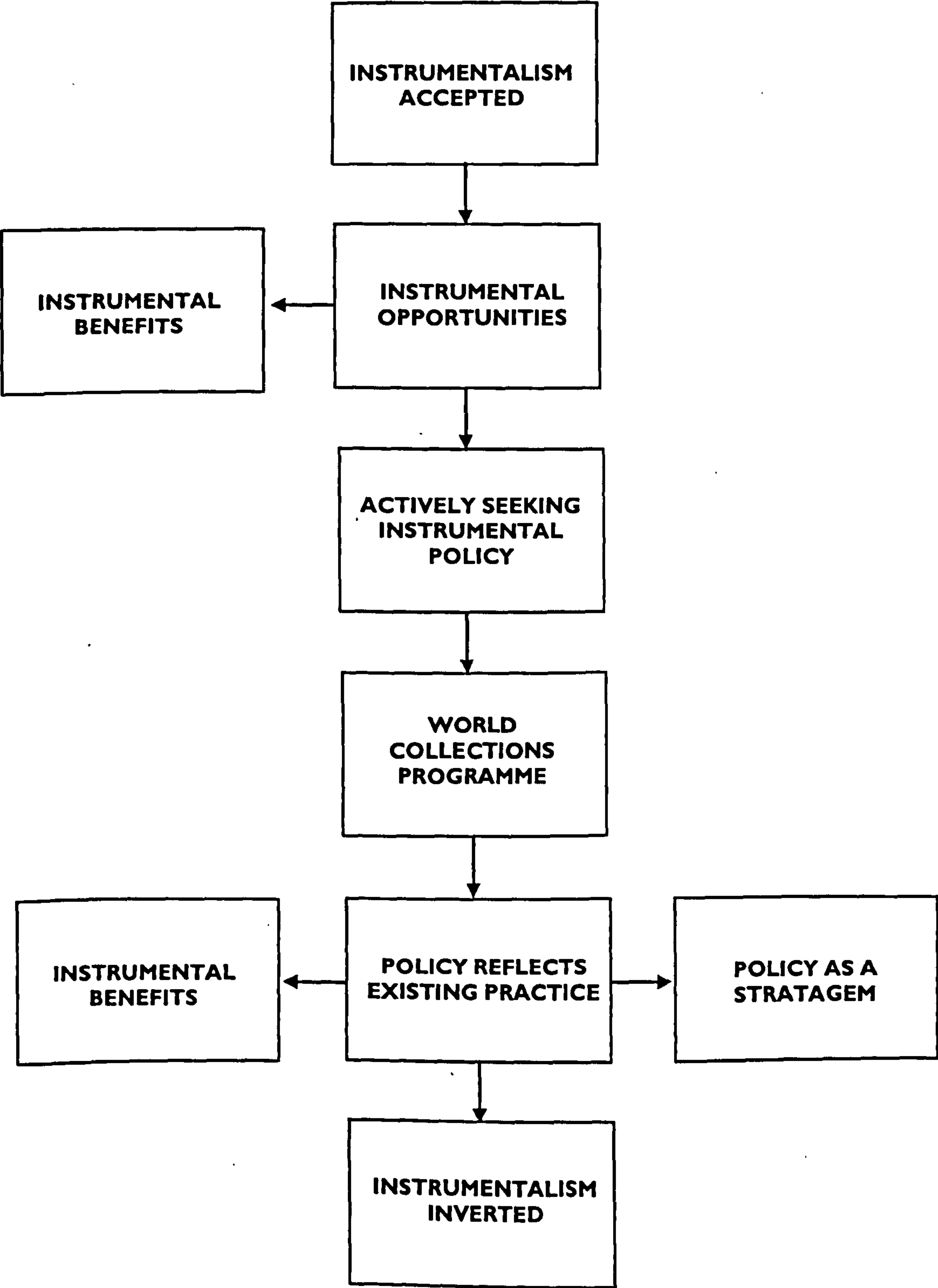
There are dimensions of instrumentalism - think about previous ideas regarding a continuum. It would be impossible to reflect this in a visual map?

22/09/10

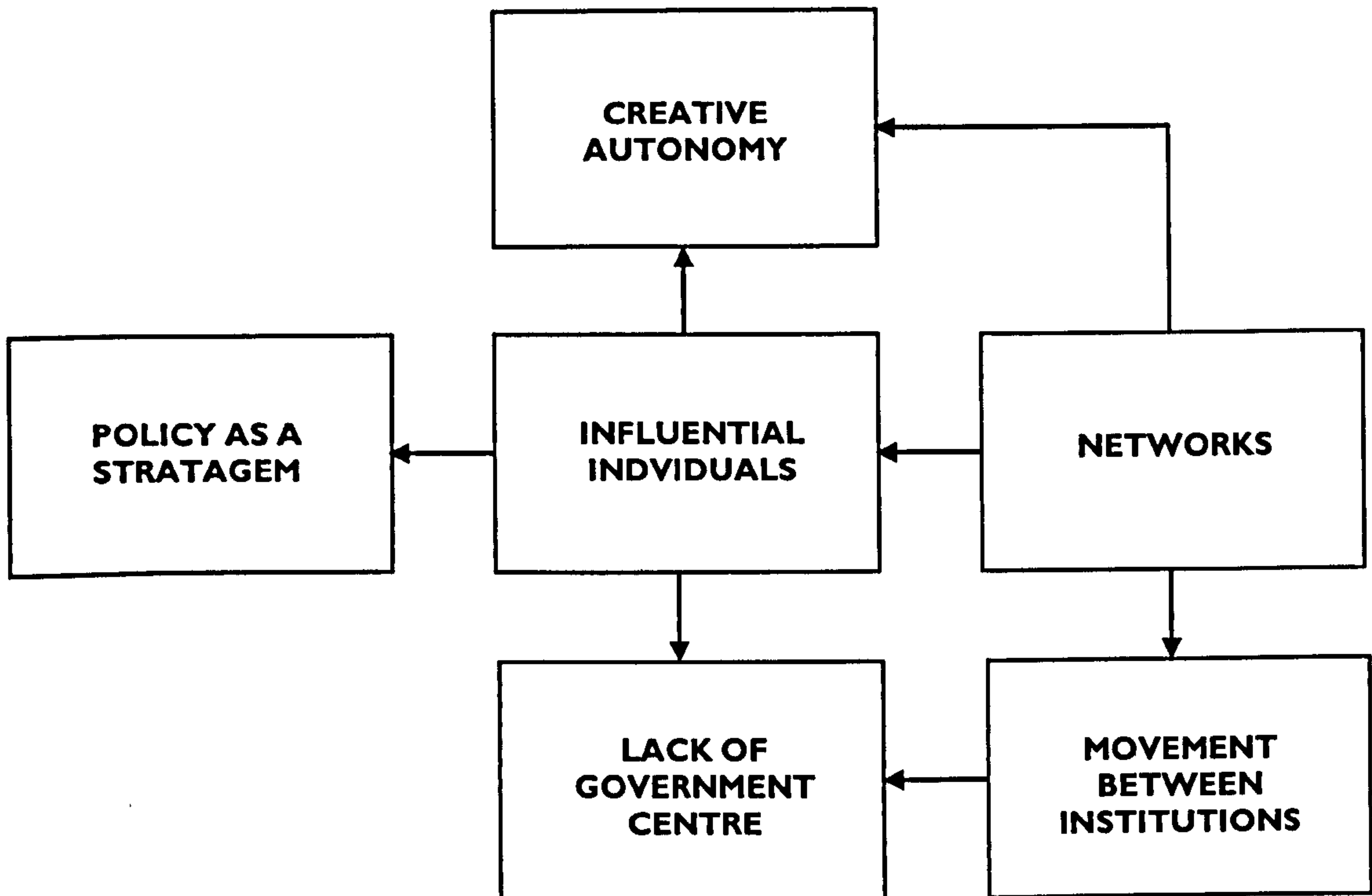
I've done some more mapping of the document analysis findings and have considered them further in light of the interview data.

Here are the three final maps, resolved through extensive writing up over the last few months. I grouped the findings around three case studies, which became clear through writing.

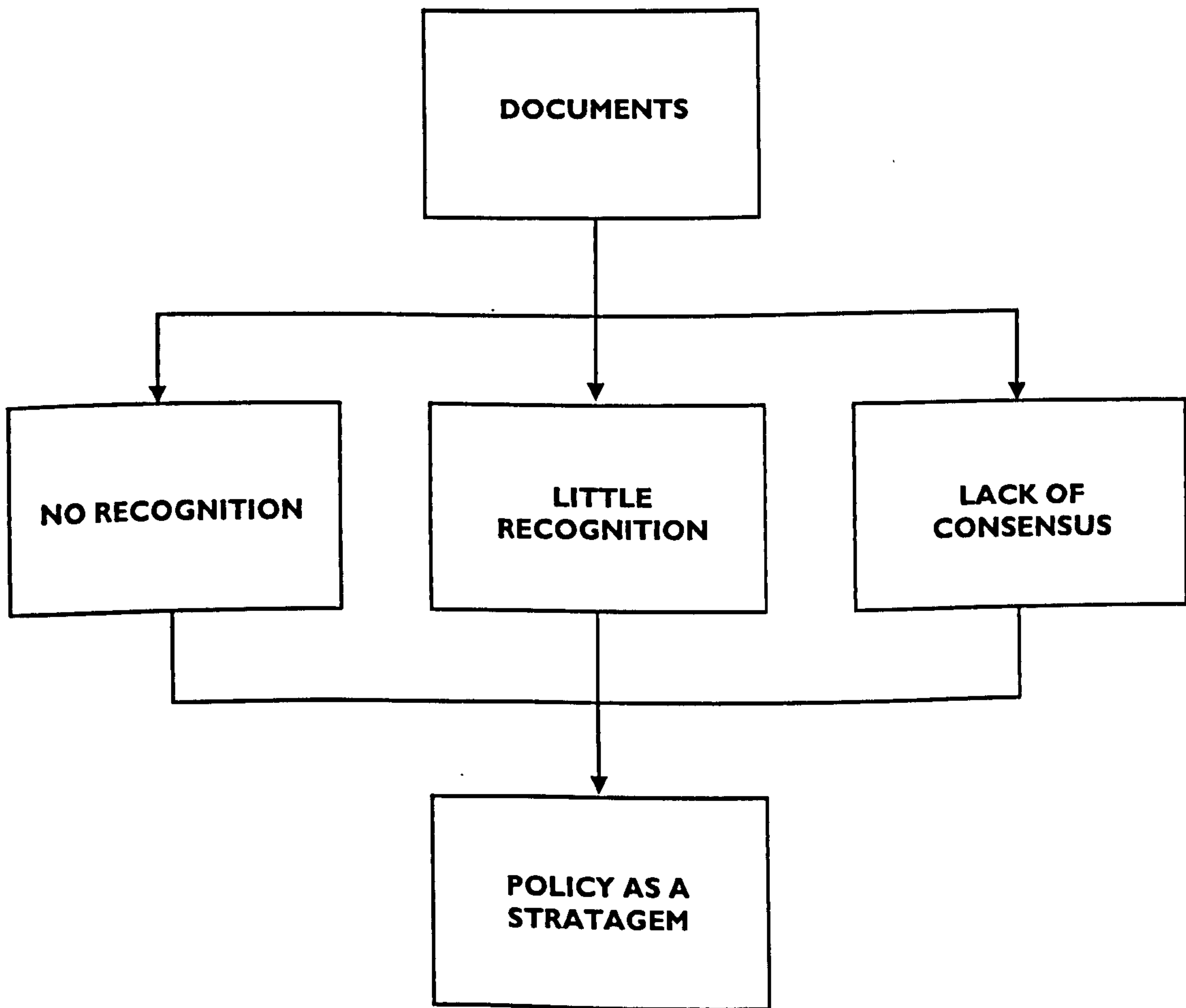
Group One - Policy and Process



Group Two - People and Power

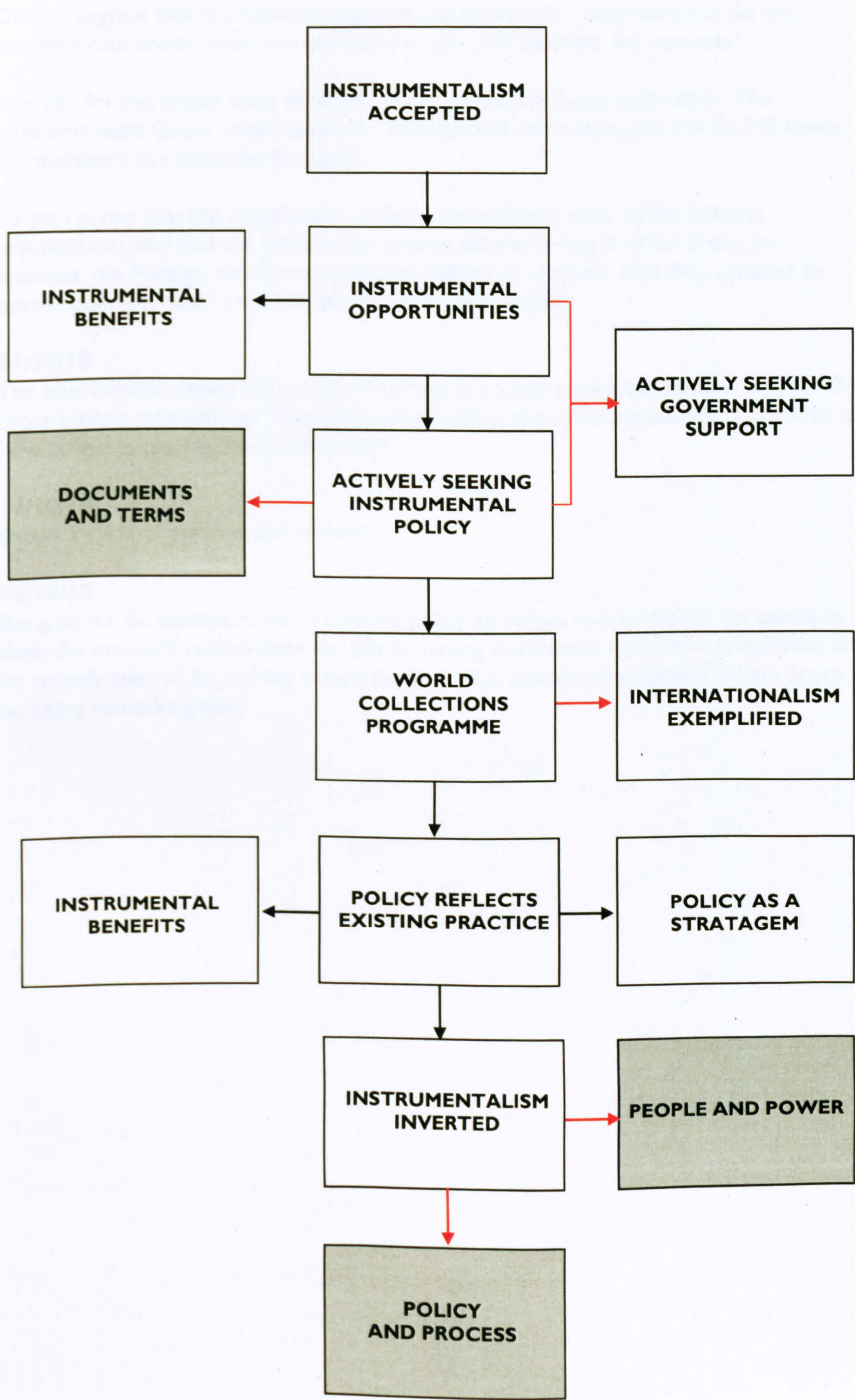


Group Three - Documents and Terms



25/09/10

This full map shows how the groupings fit together. What I like about this diagram is that it puts policy at the centre.



27/09/10

This is not instrumentalism as we know it. 'It's instrumentalism ... but not as we know it' could be a potential journal paper title.

Does it suggest that the ministers have all the information they need but do not communicate lower down the hierarchy to the civil servants, for example?

In order for the whole thing to work, the organisations need each other. The museums need Government support - financial and otherwise, and the DCMS needs the museums to rationalise its work.

So am I saying that the actual policy reflects the existing work of the cultural organisations and that the written documents mirror policy in other areas, for example, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office? In addition, that they pretend to mirror policy in other areas in theory but don't in reality?

01/10/10

The interviewees saying '£3 million WCP pot is a small amount of money' is really the organisations rationalising. They are saying 'look at the work we are doing and look at how little it is costing the Government'.

14/10/10

Shows a cycle of survival and growth.

15/10/10

Because the Government wants cultural policy to reflect foreign policy, for example, does the network compensate for this by having documents that show compliance and be actively seen to be making a contribution – but subversively, behind closed doors - be doing something else?

APPENDIX FOUR
Recent Newspaper Article
The Guardian 22/10/10

The Guardian | Friday 22 October 2010

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Comment & Debate



Simon Jenkins

The cultural axe spared our gilded elite, to chop local grants. It's only fair to let those councils now raise their own taxes

As they bow to London's arts mafiosi, the Tories still handcuff the provinces

As the deals were being struck last week for cuts in the arts budget, a splendid dinner was staged at the British Museum. The organisers seated the culture secretary, Jeremy Hunt, beneath Ramesses II and his Ozymandian "sneer of cold command" as if to warn him, "Look on your cuts, ye mighty, and despair."

Here on home territory the museum thanked its donors and friends for their support and lauded its director, Neil MacGregor, for his dazzling radio series *A History of the World in 100 Objects*. The series, said MacGregor pointedly, was a vindication of "freely accessible" art, disseminated on "freely accessible" broadcasting. He repeated the word free over and over again. The Greek gods and Roman emperors round him nodded in agreement, as did the massed ranks of BBC executives who are their proper successors. Poor Hunt was left in no doubt how many friends he would lose and enemies he would gain if he cut the grant of anyone present.

It worked. Hunt butchered the BBC but left the big museums with mere flesh wounds, shortly to be repaired by the lottery. The prime minister, David Cameron, and his chancellor, George Osborne, were both involved in the decision. They did what most shrewd cutters do, which is to calculate the nuisance value of a lobby against the cost of buying it off. The arts lobby, with its unrivalled capacity to embarrass ministers at dinner parties, was cheap at this price.

Hunt, who has taken a 24% hit on his budget, was therefore instructed to lay off the National Gallery, the British Museum, the Tate and others. They may be cut by 15% over five years, or a mere 3% a year, and the glamorous building projects at the Tate and British Museum can go ahead. Nor will there be any question of reverting to entry charges, which would have more than met the cost of the cuts. Other middle-class subsidies, such as to rail fares or university fees, may be targeted but not national museum entry.

The result was instantaneous. Two weeks ago the director of the Tate, Nicholas Serota, claimed that arts cuts would "threaten the whole ecosystem of civilisation". They would be "a ruthless blitzkrieg". Now everything is changed. Having won protection, MacGregor and Serota yesterday described the cuts as "a great reaffirmation of the role museums play in society". There is nothing a

really good dinner cannot achieve.

Both men did "voice concern" about the collateral damage to local arts of their being let off the hook. But concern pays no bills. Everyone knows the price will be paid by museums, theatres and festivals throughout the provinces. I doubt if London will be digging into its pocket to aid its lesser brethren. The London arts establishment believes in "trickle-down culture".

To find the rest of his 24% cut, Hunt had first to clobber the BBC and then go for his other big client, the Arts Council, from which he demanded 29%. Again Downing Street intervened, this time to request that "regularly funded organisations" such as the National Theatre and the Royal Opera be put in the same 15% bracket as the museums. Once again ministers were looking for protection from the London arts mafiosi.

This added ringfencing covers the bulk of Arts Council grants and can only mean mass slaughter of provincial arts when it meets next week. While the council might have been able to manage a 29% cut over five years if left to its

own devices, by demanding favouritism Hunt prevents it from cutting on merit. Worse, hundreds of local institutions are co-financed by local councils, which are being cut even more severely. A swath of England's provincial culture hangs in the balance.

Why should the big fry take cuts of only 15% and the small fry more than 30%? The real answer is the same as why the Tate in London is free but the Tate St Ives must charge £5.75 for entry. It is that London is more important than St Ives and the provinces. Its museums and galleries are centres of excellence, national treasures, repositories of the nation's psyche, where ministers and commentators take their families at weekends. London is Britain's shop window to the world.

The argument implies its converse, that provincial culture is a lower form of life, even if the same Britons with the same tastes and enthusiasms partake of it. They cannot serenade ministers or stage Ramesses dinners to plead their budgetary cause. They must take their punishment in silence. While the

vaults of the great London collections are stuffed with unseen, surplus art, the provinces must bear their mediocre walls with provincial shame, and charge people to look at them.

I love the great London museums, and might put up with this patronising attitude if Cameron and Osborne were not at the same time tying the arms of provincial centres behind their backs. Institutions for instance in Leeds, Liverpool and Birmingham are not only to be cut, but grants to their councils are being cut so severely that, far from having the difference made up locally, the arts organisations will face double cuts. Nor will councils have recourse to their electorates to raise taxes for culture. The council tax has been capped by the Treasury for the duration, increasing the drift to fiscal centralism.

This capping is a plague. It curbs community accountability and discretion. Capping mocks Cameron's "big society", which means nothing without some degree of fiscal autonomy. The government is giving councils more scope to move money between grant headings, such as between transport, environment and old people. But since overall revenue remains capped, it is like putting a madman in a straitjacket and saying he can now wiggle his fingers.

Much cultural activity survives without subsidy, as last week's Booker prize demonstrated. But where it is grant-aided, such aid should not come exclusively from central government. Museums, galleries, theatres, concerts, festivals outside the charmed circle of Hunt's lucky "15-per-centers" are about to experience 40 to 50% cuts in support, if they survive at all. Yet the government prevents their communities from helping - help that would be available in any country abroad.

Cameron may win plaudits for his generosity to London's gilded elite, but he is penalising the provinces three times over: by cutting direct grants, by cutting grants to councils that might make up for the first cut, and by banning councils from levying extra taxes to compensate. This is triple centralism, and most unfair. At no cost to the exchequer, the government could simply uncap council tax and save itself bother and blame.

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MacGregor and Serota yesterday called the cuts 'a great reaffirmation'. There's nothing a really good dinner can't achieve